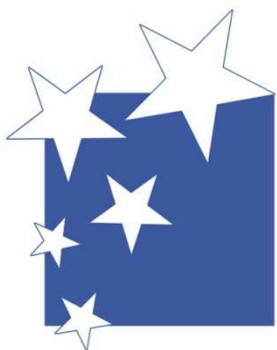


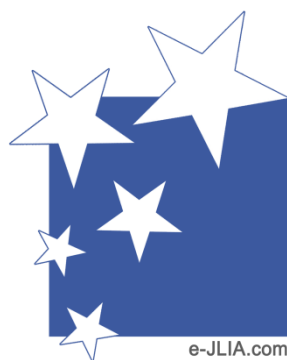


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## RETHINKING LIBERAL DEMOCRACY: PRELUDE TO TOTALITARIANISM

**Isabel David, PhD**

*School of Social and Political Sciences  
Universidade de Lisboa (University of Lisbon)  
[isabela\\_davidova@yahoo.com](mailto:isabela_davidova@yahoo.com)*

### Abstract

*In the long course of human evolution and political experimentation, liberal democracy, especially after the events of 1989, has come to be seen as the best political system. In fact, we seemed to have reached the only system compatible with liberty, after the dreadful experiences of Communist and Nazi totalitarianism, and its twin in the economic realm - capitalism. But is liberalism really conducive to freedom? I argue that evil – or totalitarianism – arises from the combination of both the Platonic and Augustinian views: ignorance of values and the pursuit of one's egotistic desires. Evil has an essentially private nature. In this sense, totalitarianism may arise from a utilitarian culture that sees people – or some forms of knowledge – as worthless and disposable objects.*

*Key words: liberalism; freedom; values; totalitarianism*

### INTRODUCTION: THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

In the long course of human evolution and political experimentation, liberal democracy, especially after the events of 1989, has come to be seen as the best political system, or, at least, as Winston Churchill put it, “the worst form of government, except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time”<sup>1</sup>. In fact, we seem to have reached the so-called *end of history* and of all ideologies. By portraying itself as the only valid way of thinking, what this language entails is, in fact, the obliteration of alternative modes of thinking, and thus the effective dominance of this particular ideology. The effect of this mechanics is self-evident: the persistence of one particular form of thinking self-reproduces and, through repetition, generates its own legitimacy. Tocqueville (2006) has brilliantly described its essence: in a democratic society, where the passion for equality is the prevalent and irresistible dogma, all people have to work, which means that all live in a state of perpetual agitation. This state of affairs is simply incompatible with contemplation and its ultimate end – the search for truth – if by no other reason than that thinking requires time, something which is lacking in such societies. In other words, democracies have no leisure class, precisely that which has traditionally dedicated itself to these matters. In the absence of theoretical concerns, people turn to their material well-being and live for the present, a context in which science comes to exist not *per se*, but only possesses a utilitarian rationale that merely conceives of its immediate and practical application.

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<sup>1</sup> From a House of Commons speech on November 11, 1947.

This prevalence of the economy, of the technical sphere, and the advent of a *government of things*, instead of a *government of men*, seems to be intimately connected with a qualitative change which took place in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, namely, the Reformation. The most important break in Western unity was especially espoused by the most economically developed areas, by those most favoured by natural resources and by the wealthiest towns of the Holy Roman Empire; in one word, by the bourgeois way of life. The emphasis on earthly salvation through work and *economic rationalism*, as Max Weber (2001) put it, instead of after-life salvation, and the rejection of transcendentalism, seems to compose a materialistic picture duly incompatible with the spiritual and ascetic essence of Christianity. Once implemented, this system tends to develop a legitimacy that increases in proportion to its stability.

These “ethical maxims”, having penetrated the cultural realm, gave rise to an ideological foundation – liberalism –, traceable to the writings of John Locke, and later continued by Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Immanuel Kant and David Hume. John Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government* were as much a reaction against Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarch* and Stuart absolutism as they were a eulogy of Whig interests, associated with emergent industrial lobbies and wealthy merchants. Hence his fierce defence of the doctrine of unalienable natural rights - individual liberty, life, property - that constituted the inviolable private sphere of a civil society, conceived as a domain in which there could be no state interference. The cornerstone of his theoretical edifice lay in the social compact, based on consent and choice, as the means to create a body politic. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, he proposed the famous *tabula rasa* doctrine, arguing that there are no innate universal moral notions – speculative and practical principles – in the human mind. Rather, moral principles, along with faith and revelation, require reasoning and discourse, in order that their truth is discovered. In fact, all knowledge begins with experience, through the senses, and must be made dependent on the end one wants to achieve. Among the ideas which are received from sensation and reflection are pain and pleasure, in reference to which good and evil can be measured. Hence, that which is called good is that which is apt to cause or increase pleasure, or diminish pain. Evil, on the contrary, is that which is apt to produce or increase any pain, or diminish any pleasure in us. Happiness consists in the maximum pleasure we are capable of, and misery the maximum pain<sup>2</sup>. Hence, principles such as virtue are generally approved, not because they are innate, but because they are profitable to each individual.

It was with Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* that freedom decisively acquired its markedly economic tone. For him, people’s actions are guided by the utilitarian consideration of self-interest, in a supposedly well ordered competitive system, guided by an *invisible hand*. Jeremy Bentham was responsible for the doctrine of utilitarianism as such. As for Locke, for Bentham pain and pleasure are the sovereign masters which decide what we ought to do and determine right and wrong. Based on these foundations, the principle of utility “approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question.” (Bentham 1823, Chapter 1). The final goal of the system thus created is felicity, by the hands of reason and law. In fact, the principle of utility, as the true source of morality, is aimed not only at individual action, but also at government action. The individual is the best judge of his own utility, due to man’s reasonable nature. In this sense, the art of directing a man’s own actions is named private ethics, or art of self-government and the sum of the interests of the several members who compose the community forms the interest of that community.

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<sup>2</sup> Utilitarianism then has its true foundations in Locke.

The art of directing people's actions to happiness and augmenting it through the law is called the art of government. In this context, punishment, which is an evil in itself, should only be admitted if it can exclude some greater evil.

John Stuart Mill elaborated on the concept of utilitarianism, considering general happiness as a moral standard and the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions. It is anchored on the natural social feelings of mankind, and is, for that reason, the most important and desirable end. Money, fame and power are components of happiness. Hence, the best government is that which is most conducive to progress. Mill mitigates this understanding of utilitarianism, by advocating the superiority of intellectual and moral pleasures, with a view to a "higher mode of existence," reflecting the distinctive human faculty of reason (Mill 2004, Chapter II). Here resides the justification for the absolute sphere of human sovereignty in matters of lifestyle, inner consciousness, personal conduct and opinion - and hence unhindered individualism<sup>3</sup> -, in which the state has no power to intervene, even with an ethical purpose, to restore moral standards – the "despotism of custom" –, save in those cases where the aim is to prevent harm done to others. In his view, liberty is the only trustworthy source of improvement. Thus, each individual, bringing with him an endless diversity of experiences, is a possible independent centre of improvement.

The role of the state, in this context, should be that of a central depository, circulator and diffuser of these experiments. Immanuel Kant's philosophy rests on an optimistic view of the human condition, based on the assumption that men are originally predisposed to good and able to perfect themselves. Hence, morality can be built on the postulation that man is a free agent who can bind himself through reason alone to laws, therefore not needing either religion or any other incentive than the law to apprehend and do his duty. Right and wrong are determined solely by reason. In this context, the categorical imperative is that which represents an action as necessary in and of itself, being able to ignore all ends. There is only one categorical imperative: "Act so that the maxim of thy will can always at the same time hold good as a principle of universal legislation" (Kant 2004, book I, chapter I, VII). Thus, what each of us calls good must be desired by all rational men, which means that a universal kingdom of ends can be conceived, binding all rational beings by common laws. The final outcome will be that each one of us will treat others, in every case, as an end, and never as a means.

For David Hume, knowledge comes from experience, through the senses. This is the case of morality, which depends on subjective perceptions and appetites. Thus, good and evil can be distinguished according to the impressions they produce: if the impression is agreeable, then something is good; if, on the contrary, the impression is uneasy, we are in the presence of evil. There are, therefore, no objective moral standards. Similarly, justice does not exist per se, but rather arises artificially from education and human convention to remedy some inconveniences such as selfishness and lack of generosity. From then on, the pursuit of happiness - traceable to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* - for the greater number and avoidance of pain as the only ends of human action were to be considered as the guidelines for all moral considerations, capable of defining good and evil, instead of considering an action good in and of itself. This view, which can be best described as a revival of sophism, has come to dominate the political and philosophical debate and was translated into neoliberalism, drawing mainly from the works of Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman.

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<sup>3</sup> In *On Liberty*, Mill argues that liberty consists in doing what one desires and that the individual is unaccountable to society for his actions.

The view also gave birth to the doctrine of state neutrality that emerged in the 1970's, which regards the liberal state as one that does not impose upon its citizens or favour any definition of the good, leaving people free to pursue their own private moral conceptions.

This regression from the public sphere - the sphere of freedom *par excellence* - to the despotism of the household can only be looked at with great concern. In fact, when private interests take over public life and governments start acting as companies - privatizing public utilities and welfare, marketizing health services, social insurance and pensions, promoting competition between universities, introducing private sector forms of management into public service, treating citizens as clients - that is, as mere providers of goods and services, politics will be built "on the basis of private law" (Schmitt 1988, 31) and the common good becomes a sum of private interests. In the impossibility of 'linking the individuals' responsibilities and obligations to a well defined political order (...), the very possibility of politics is put into question' (Wagner 1995, 261 quoted in Habermas 2000, 88). For economy, as Hannah Arendt (1990, 215) mentions, can never decide "which form of government is better; tyranny or a free republic." Because the two spheres, the economic and the political one, have divergent goals, and once politics is evicted by the market, democratic decisions lose credibility, given that money can be neither democratised nor held accountable (Habermas 2000, 74), and citizenship is converted into plain "ratification of decisions or consumption of services," (Hawkins 1991, 82). At the same time, representation fails and elections turn into a simple appointment of agents and delegates of interest groups. The reduction of freedom to such a "*diminished normative*" (Habermas 2000, 97) conception - the economic rationality of the consumer, who has replaced the citizen - puts aside the moral component that is supposed to underlie public space, built on the idea of reciprocity associated with the *categorical imperative* - or with the *general will* -, in which the citizen comes to participate on an equal basis in the *polis*, a possibility immediately denied by the market, which merely "reproduces - and augments - the comparative advantages, *previously established*, of enterprises, of the domestic and of people" (Habermas 2000, 98). The people, by definition a public law concept, dilutes into a shapeless mass of isolated individuals incapable of being held accountable. For liberalism, by reducing the role of the state and by making the private sphere the only domain where freedom could be maintained, has shielded the citizens from the public realm. Liberal morality is reduced solely to the endeavour of preserving oneself as the first and only basis of virtue. However, as Hannah Arendt (1968, 36) noted, "nothing proved easier to destroy than the privacy and private morality of people who thought of nothing but safeguarding their private lives."

## BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL

The relativism that ultimately springs from egalitarianism, in that all opinions are alike in dignity, even wrong ones, as Mill argued, can be best summarised in Rousseau's *volonté de tous*, a sum of individual private and egoistic wills from which no general will can ever emerge. St. Augustine (2005, Book XII, Chapter 7) reinforces the private nature of evil, which arises when man starts focusing on the lower goods, to satisfy his egotistic interests. Reason cannot be the measure of morality, as Kant wanted, for, as Horkheimer and Adorno (2002, 69) claim, "Reason is the organ of calculation, of planning; *it is neutral with regard to ends*; its element is coordination". Nietzsche's superman, someone capable of creating values ex-nihilo, tries to replicate Kant's categorical imperative<sup>4</sup>. This is the problem with liberals: trying to create values

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<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Horkheimer and Adorno (2002, 90) for this equation.

ex-nihilo. The full implications of these doctrines are not, as a matter of fact, liberation from state tyranny, but rather from traditionally accepted and established known values, as Socrates inaugurated them - it is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong -, then their subversion and, finally, their destruction. Values thus became “social commodities that have no significance of their own but, like other commodities, exist only in the ever-changing relativity of social linkages and commerce” (Arendt 2006a, 32).

Ultimately, this extreme mutability seems to be intimately connected with utilitarianism, a process in a strict dialectical relation with scientism, the new religion associated with economic progress, by which humanity has reached the end point of the eschatological interpretation of history of which Auguste Comte spoke - the scientific or positive stage -, having successfully abandoned the theological and the metaphysical stages.

Here lies precisely the explanation for the replacement of one God by another. In fact, faith in progress rests on the fact that it is more readily accessible to all, saints and sinners, and hence more egalitarian and consistent with the spirit of democratic morality. In addition, it reflects the abandonment of the uncertainty of faith in a hereafter, which may not exist, to embrace a more certain man-made world. The killing of God, the one thing that ultimately ensures the stability and immutability of all things human, comes, in this respect, as the necessary prerequisite for the inversion of known values and the advent of ever-changeable sets of new ones. In fact, once God is killed, in a first stage values still exist, but not their ultimate source – call it God or natural law – and, once their guarantor is not there any longer, those values completely disappear.

In effect, what this continuous change means is that “the sense by which we take our bearings in the real world – and the category of truth vs. falsehood is among the mental means to this end – is being destroyed” (Arendt 2006a, 252-254). After the killing of God, as Montesquieu (1914, book XIX, chapter 16) had noticed; only customs – *les mœurs*, the morality of every civilization – could prevent the moral and spiritual breakdown of Western culture. But, contrary to what he noticed – that the decline begins with unlawfulness, either when the laws are abused by the government or when the authority of the law’s source becomes doubtful and questionable (Ibid, book VIII, chapter 8) –, it is not the corruption of the laws that leads to decay but rather, as Plato noted, that corrupt mores encroach upon the laws and transform them. In a context in which freedom becomes a means, and not an end, and is replaced by free will, the arbitrariness of isolated individuals reigns supreme.

Since the absolute barrier that once separated good from evil was blurred by relativism, indifference becomes the prevalent feature of democratic societies. From indifference, the leap to scepticism is only a very short one, and an even shorter one to nihilism.

The attempt at a new beginning by man alone, through secularisation, which has been the driving force behind all modern revolutions - all openly atheist -, could only have one outcome: tyranny. The full implications of such a conception showed to what extent the demiurge - the superman of which Nietzsche spoke, in an attempt at imitating divine art, an apocryphal manifestation of God - hadn’t liberated himself from the political order which he ruled, but, as Locke (1764) had anticipated, from natural, and hence, divine law, to which he had been subjected prior to the Modern Age, having tried to create a secular religion and thus tried to find “within the political realm itself, a fully satisfactory substitute for the lost religious sanction of secular authority.” (Arendt 1990, 158) Modern times have indeed become a witness to the most unacceptable crossing of ethical boundaries, having reached its height in the open criminality of totalitarian regimes - it is well known that the elite formations of the Nazi party were organized

after the model of criminal gangs and trained to commit mass murder, while criminals received a fairly better treatment in concentration camps than totally innocent people -, but not solely confined to them. The events in former Yugoslavia or Rwanda fully demonstrate that totalitarian solutions are here to stay and can indeed be extraordinarily popular.

### THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

And if moral virtues remain in us through education and habit, as Aristotle (Nichomachean Ethics, book II, chapter 1) noted, the greatest danger lies in that ‘no one who spent his life among rascals without knowing anybody else could have a concept of virtue’ (Kant quoted in Arendt 2003, 61) - when all references have been eliminated. In the end, the last resort will be human nature.

From lack of moral standards, emerges a particular type of citizenship: apathetic, passive and unenlightened<sup>5</sup> and thus incapable of adequately choosing its representatives. This fact is particularly disturbing in a system which was meant to rely on a high degree of discernment on the part of its people. In a context in which individuals lack time and thus proper knowledge to effectively participate in the *res publica*, state power is bound to grow. More so when people are willing to lose their freedom, in the name of safety, as the current crisis has proved, with the rise of the far right all over Europe. This thought is particularly troubling and aggravated in our time, marked by the “ethos” of the market and by the “transformation of the world into industry” (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 29):

The danger of the corpse factories and holes of oblivion is that today, with populations and homelessness everywhere on the increase, masses of people are continuously rendered superfluous if we continue to think of our world in utilitarian terms. Political, social and economic events everywhere are in a silent conspiracy with totalitarian instruments devised for making men superfluous. (...) Totalitarian solutions may well survive the fall of totalitarian regimes in the form of strong temptations which will come up whenever it seems impossible to alleviate political, social, or economic misery in a manner worthy of man. (Arendt 1968, 157)

Mass murder in the political sphere merely emulates mass production in the economic realm. People are judged by their market value. Reified, people become eventually obsolete and thus disposable. As things, human beings can be used and manipulated. In this utilitarian world, ideas, religions, ideologies are of interest “only insofar as they increase or decrease the survival prospects of the human species on the earth or within the universe” (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 185). In the end, the origins of such concepts must reside in the utilitarian formula that obliterates meaning and purpose and blurs the difference between means and ends.

If “all of European history through many centuries had taught people to judge each political action by its *cui bono* and all political events by their particular underlying interests,” (Arendt 1968, 46) in the absence of values, what can be the boundaries to political violence? A nihilist society, however committed to science, can only have totalitarianism as its final destination. Totalitarianism, then, does not proceed from ignorance. And from this cycle there seems to be no escape: “whatever the punishment, once a specific crime has appeared for the first time, its reappearance is more likely than its initial emergence could ever have been.”

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<sup>5</sup> The relationship between morality and the improvement of citizenship was clearly perceived by the Classical world, from Socrates to Cicero.

(Arendt 2006b, 273) There is indeed a strikingly frightening similarity between democracy and totalitarianism, in that the former paves the way for the latter.<sup>6</sup> One needs only to compare the brilliant studies conducted by Tocqueville and Hannah Arendt - *Democracy in America* and *Totalitarianism* - to understand the meaning of such an affirmation. Once the difference between right and wrong is no more<sup>7</sup> – and then we will have attained what Plato saw as the cause of evil: ignorance –, men relapse into a Hobbesian state of nature since the instinct of self-preservation prevails when each one of us does what he wants<sup>8</sup>, paving the way for the utmost perversity and fully demonstrating its consequences once such men reach government, as Plato (Book VIII) noticed. The ultimate perversion is the trivialisation of all feelings which ennoble and elevate the human condition - love, friendship, loyalty. And this development proves how easily modernity has destroyed both man's ability to think - and especially to reflect on himself - and his practical reason,<sup>9</sup> the one faculty on which Liberal philosophy rests, by trusting human nature. Hitler's election is the living proof. Action alone determines the nature of the moral person and not intention, as Aristotle (Nicomachean Ethics, Book III, chapter IV) noted.

### CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR THE DEFINITION OF A COMMON GOOD?

When wrong actions are dismissed as normal and acceptable and even criminality goes unpunished, reversing legality, as Plato (Book VIII) noted, even in the eyes of intelligent people, there is usually more involved than just nonsense. There exists in our society a widespread fear of judging that has nothing whatever to do with the biblical 'judge not, that ye be not judged' (...). For behind the unwillingness to judge lurks the suspicion that no one is a free agent, and hence the doubt that anyone is responsible or could be expected to answer for what he has done. (Arendt 2003, 19)

Actually, the refusal to obey the law or to render it effective finds its cause also in this attempt of man to become *causa sui*. The tragedy is that, ultimately, punishment has always come as the last resort to make people obey moral standards which were always thought to be self-evident; as history has shown, "natural law itself needed divine sanction to become binding for men." (Arendt 1990, 191) With the loss of the "restricting limitations which protected its boundaries, freedom became helpless, defenceless" (Arendt 1954) and thus ready to be destroyed. People have to be forced to be free, as Rousseau would put it. In this sense, the Christian faculty of forgiveness has no applicability in relation to the "sins" committed in the political domain. For "it is the grandeur of court proceedings that even a cog can become a person again." (Arendt 2003, 148)

In this context, "the boundaries of positive laws are for the political existence of man what memory is for his historical existence: the guarantee of the pre-existence of a common world, the reality of some continuity which transcends the individual life span of each generation" (Arendt 1968, 163), that is, only "in the body of positive laws of each country do the *ius naturale* or the Commandments of God achieve their political reality" (Ibid, 162).

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<sup>6</sup> Twenty-five centuries ago, Plato noted how democracies inevitably degenerate into tyrannies.

<sup>7</sup> This blurring does not apply anymore, as Kant thought, when [Man] is conscious of the moral law but has nevertheless adopted into his maxim the (occasional) deviation therefrom. (Kant 1996, Book One, III)

<sup>8</sup> "Abundance needs no law, and civilization's accusation of anarchy sounds almost like a denunciation of abundance (...). (...) it is the lack of contact between the cave dwellers which is the true reason for the absence of objective laws...". (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 50-51)

<sup>9</sup> Kant had stated that the will is the faculty of choosing only that which reason recognises as good.

Between the strong and the weak, it is freedom that oppresses, while the law liberates (Henri Lacordaire) and the role of the Constitution is that of limiting power, so that we won't have a government of men, but a government of laws (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, book V, chapter X). Indeed, that means the rejection of the social compact on which liberalism is based for

a state exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only. (...) Whence it may be further inferred that virtue must be the care of a state which is truly so called, and not merely enjoys the name: for without this end the community becomes a mere alliance which differs only in place from alliances of which the members live apart; and law is only a convention, 'a surety to one another of justice,' as the sophist Lycophron says, and has no real power to make the citizen good and just. (Aristotle, *Politics*, Book III)

This presupposes a common ethical understanding of society and its values; in other words, striking an agreement about the definition of "positive liberty". In order that freedom survive, relativism cannot be condoned, especially that which, in the name of freedom, can put an end to it, under the presupposition that the responsibilities associated with government will ultimately operate a transformation on radical political elements. As history has shown, when the nature of these elements is such that it is incompatible with the respect for the rules of the game, freedom will always be the weakest element, proving that it is necessary "to dissolve the sophistic-dialectical interpretations of politics which are all based on the superstition that something good might result from evil" (Arendt 1968, 140), for "those who choose the lesser evil forget very quickly that they chose evil" (Arendt 2003, 36). Because at the basis of freedom stand moral and ethical values; freedom is not devoid of substance. Additionally, our system of justice, our laws, our institutions, what is criminalised or not, are based on moral conceptions. Hence,

A democratic government is not supposed to become an accomplice in its own overthrow by letting Gnostic movements grow prodigiously in the shelter of a muddled interpretation of civil rights; and if through inadvertence such a movement has grown to the danger point of capturing existential representation by the famous legality of 'popular elections', a democratic government is not supposed to bow to the 'will of the people' but to put down the danger by force and, if necessary, to break the letter of the constitution in order to save its spirit. (Voegelin 1987, 144)

As Voegelin (1991, 86) notes elsewhere, "While ... might does not make right, it is unfortunately equally true that it makes an order, and that without it an order can be neither created nor maintained." These are issues we would like to forget because they point to the authoritarian origin of politics. In fact, the advent of totalitarian regimes seems to have inaugurated a political era of all or nothing, in which, as Arendt (1968, 141) explains, all means an undetermined infinity of forms of human living-together and nothing the inevitable doom of human beings, in an ultimate confrontation between good and evil in which war appears as catharsis, a last possibility for humanity to be born anew (Hesse 1999), when, having reached his lowest point, man is confronted with his bestial condition. In the impossibility of a return to God, "death is the greatest evil; and if life cannot be ordered through orientation of the soul toward a *summum bonum*, order will have to be motivated by fear of the *summum malum*." (Voegelin 1987, 182)



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## THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SOFT POWER: THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS AND THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

**Nikola Petrovski, MA**

*Law Faculty, University St. Clement of Ohrid - Bitola*

*[nikolagpetrovski@yahoo.com](mailto:nikolagpetrovski@yahoo.com)*

### **Abstract**

*The primary motive to this research is the specific form of soft power the EU use in its policy, especially the enlargement policy. Thus, over comprehensive analyze of its policy, researching the previous experiences in this field, the ongoing process with the candidate members, and using the method of case study with the Republic of Macedonia in particular, we can see closer how the soft power works in this part of its policy and in which forms it is expressed. According to the research and the results, we could see the differences between the other power of the EU used in its policy, and the specific form of soft power used in the Enlargement policy. This type of power is collocated of various elements such as Copenhagen criteria, progress reports and for the very first in the case with the Republic of Macedonia is launched the High Level Accession Dialogue. Despite the complicated process and endless framework followed by the slow development in the state policy, the survey results with positive public opinion on the sole enlargement process and the EU membership.*

*Key words: soft power; European Union; Republic of Macedonia; Enlargement policy*

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this paper will be analyzed the process of the EU enlargement policy toward the Republic of Macedonia, from the soft power aspect and its instruments. The EU enlargement policy is based on specific criteria and that is:

- complying with all the EU's standards and rules
- having the consent of the EU institutions and
- EU member states having the consent of their citizens – as expressed through approval in their national parliament or by referendum (European Commission, 2014).

According to this order the process of the enlargement is implemented. At first, the state is asked for achieving of the Copenhagen criteria and the negotiations follow it. For all of the time, the process is being monitored by the European Commission that submits statements to the European Parliament and the European Council. What is in our interest here is not the process in its entirety but those parts only where the European Union enforces its power in the process.

## **THE LEGITIMACY OF THE SOFT POWER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA**

From all of the candidate states of the European Union, the Republic of Macedonia has the longest chronology in the relations with the EU. Stabilization and Association Agreement (further in the text as: SAA) was signed in April, 2001 and it is coming into force right after three years in 2004. When the SAA come into force, the Republic of Macedonia faced with the acceptance of the Copenhagen criteria. They are not clearly stated and noted in the agreement, but at the very beginning that presents a formal introduction to the Agreement, is written:

Recalling the European Union's readiness to integrate to the fullest possible extent the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia into the political and economic mainstream of Europe and its status as a potential candidate for EU membership on the basis of the Treaty on European Union and fulfillment of the criteria defined by the European Council in June 1993 (bold added by us), subject to successful implementation of this Agreement, notably regarding regional cooperation (...) (SAA, 2001).

It means that since 2001 respectively 2004, Macedonia faces the Copenhagen criteria and with the signing of the SAA formally accept them. There is not any coercion or sanction in the case with Macedonia if the conditions would not be fulfilled, but the only sanction is the fact that without its fulfillment the state could not become a member. Though, the Agreement does not show up accidentally. As the European Commission listed on its website, the Republic of Macedonia and the European Union established international communication through diplomatic represents, Co-operation Agreement, Agreement on the Trade in Textile Products, Agreement in the field of the transport. On that way, the EU step by step is turning the political organizing of the state, especially when it comes for a state such the Republic of Macedonia is, when in that period is placed in an early phase of transition of the economic and the political system. Stating such a framework for co-operation gives a new dimension to the foreign policy of the state themselves. The guide of working stated as that, which trough the state detect the benefit of it, actually is the guide in whom the European Union gradually put itself as a friend and an “ally” in the struggle with the former and the gateway to the new system of organizing of the state. Since the European Union has put itself in that way toward Macedonia opens area in where the soft power over attraction and co-opt succeed to model the behaviour of the state. It goes easy in that way because is in phase where the friends of that kind (such the European Union) are necessary as a significant help for its progress.

The agreements are just one way to obtain legitimacy to the power that the European Union execute toward the Republic of Macedonia. The benefit is mutual because the aim of the European Union is a successful enlargement policy toward as much as more states, with an intention for spreading its influence on all of the Continent of Europe, while, for the Republic of Macedonia that means a free and open market, faster progress and removing of the barriers with which is faced with, but the security and stability too. If we look into the chronology of the relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the European Union, we can note a constantly presence of the European Union with its programmes and activities. Starting from 1996 when the Republic of Macedonia becomes eligible for funding under the EC's PHARE programme, than the trade agreements, the Stabilisation and Association Process, the EU's special representatives, the application for membership, the candidate status, the visa facilitation agreement, the High Level Accession Dialogue etc. is a period of about twenty years cooperation and conjugation to

the European Union. In that way, it is not formed the foreign policy of the state only but the public opinion too. Because of the fact that within the recent years, every government works on the relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the EU, a picture for the significance of that relations is formed a front of the public opinion. That is one of the ways how the European Union is building its *European Perspective* to this states, working on the perception of the citizens for the necessity of the membership.

### ***The Copenhagen criteria***

The fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria in the process with the Republic of Macedonia, as a state with the candidate status is monitored over the evaluation and objections noted in the Progress Reports by the European Commission submitted to the state. The problem we found is that the Reports are vaguely and the evaluation itself is still an open question because:

- There are not clearly presented parameters according by the fulfilment of the conditions is evaluated (i.e. in the Progress Report from 2014 is noted: *Progress is measured on the basis of decisions taken, legislation adopted and measures implemented. As a rule, legislation or measures which are under preparation or awaiting parliamentary approval have not been taken into account.*)
- The fact that there is no exist an objective criterion for evaluation, enable subjectivity in the evaluation by the people that evaluates (i.e. in the Progress Report from 2014 is noted: *This approach [the approach mentioned above in this paragraph] ensures equal treatment across all reports and enables an objective assessment*).

In all of the Reports are noted the areas where the state has made a progress in the fulfillment of the criteria but as a more important – what should be done further. We can say that this process is weak because it allows to the process to last many years, and that is on account of the objections and its declarative dimension i.e. it does not cause any consequences if the state does not fulfill the parts that are noted as unfulfilled and where the state should dedicate more attention. Over the stand criteria the EU focus the policy, economy and the legal system of one country toward a unified globally accepted (as normal) a way of behaving. Actually in this case the EU achieves all of this using attraction and co-opt. The criteria are expression of a value-normative framework of the EU that has been offered to the states. That value-normative pattern, with well-founded reasons the states accept it and decide to implement it to the political systems. The difference here is in the expressed intention of the European Union in order to exercise its soft power. Thus, the negative aspect in this case is founded in the vagueness of the stated criteria and the possibility for a subjective element in the evaluation, not giving the clear picture for successfulness/unsuccessfulness of the implemented politics i.e. the criteria. In that manner we are going to do short analyses to the Progress Report (to the political criteria, in particular) of Macedonia, after the parliamentary elections in 2011 that is the Reports of 2012, 2013 and 2014.

### ***The soft power and the public opinion***

Besides the *intentional* (indirect) influence over creating of the public opinion throughout the official documents and the other programs of the European Union spreading the influence over the candidate states such as the Republic of Macedonia, it succeeded to give deceivableness

to the process itself including not just an abstract picture about the European perspective but a direct involvement of the citizens in the process too. One of the programs is ERAZMUS+, where in the official introduction to the program is noted:

The Erasmus+ programme aims to boost skills and employability, as well as modernizing Education, Training, and Youth work. The seven year programme will have a budget of €14.7 billion; a 40% increase compared to current spending levels, reflecting the EU's commitment to investing in these areas. Erasmus+ will provide opportunities for over 4 million Europeans to study, train, gain work experience and volunteer abroad (Erasmus, 2014).

As a conclusion we will draw out two elements that are imposed by this programme: *attraction* and *financial aid*. In this way it shapes the public opinion throughout the programme, perceiving the *European Perspective*:

- *An opportunity for upgrade*: the students and the youth are awarded with an opportunity to study in the EU countries and have a chance to meet the culture, language and tradition.
- *A feeling for belongingness*: calling them Europeans, it creates them a feeling for belongingness of the youth to the culture and values of the Europe (the European Union, in particular);
- *Existence and experience*: seven years, the NGOs, universities, research centers etc. have a chance to work on EU projects where the youth will have an opportunity to be employed or to volunteer on those projects while the rest of the population will be informed through the media about these projects.

According to it, the European Union encloses its pattern of work closer to the citizens more than the official international legal acts. The citizens are directly involved in this process, aware of the benefits of these programs. It gives a positive impression that leads to a favorably public opinion on the EU. What is different of the Nay's definition is that the *inducement* (where he classify it among the elements of the hard power), is not expressed over bribes or payments. Those, here we can note inducement throughout facilitation of means for existence and building experience in that volume where they can work on a projects acceptable to the EU. Under "acceptable to the EU" is open another segment of the power - directing activities. To be financed one project it should be in the areas that the European Union considers as a priority and significant. In this case we consider the two-dimensional aspect to the power that is about crating the agenda, where from the soft power aspect it means "A uses attraction and institutions to impose on B to take the agenda as legitimate". Here we have creating a framework in which will be covered those areas where the EU decided about as important to be set on "the agenda" and the institutions that have projects funded by the EU, must behave according to. Because of these reasons we could not say that the EU makes payments to achieve its goals over bribes and payments and that is why this financial type of help we could not classified under that category as an element of the hard power. We could look at these relations as a relation compatible to the employer and employee, where the EU funds projects that considers as a priority to its development, but on the other hand the states accept it aims emolument and co-operation with the EU and aware or unaware acceptance to the EU's framework of values and culture.

### *Adaptation to the soft power through the EU's Progress reports*

With the Progress reports of the European Commission is expressed the progress or regress of the Republic of Macedonia, related to the fulfillment of the criteria required for membership in the EU. These reports make retrospective to the recent year and the areas where the state made progress as well as where the situation became worse than before. It says where should improve too. Significant to be noted is that the Reports set the guidelines the state should follow during creation of its policy.

From the aspect of the soft power it means the giving guidelines and the support by the European Union as well over the reports, without sanction to any undesirable (for the EU) behavior by the state (the Republic of Macedonia) is the way of shaping behavior of the state. The state voluntarily accept the supervision by the European Union considered as wishful for implementation of its aim – development of the state and membership in the EU. Because the reports mostly have descriptive character, the fulfillment of the criteria depends on the “good will” of the state without any timeframes or deadlines where the state would have been determined to achieve it. In the reports as a guidelines and explanations are mostly used the phrases: “the National Council for EU Integration (NCEI) should play a greater role in assembling a broad national consensus on European integration [...] Continued efforts are needed (bold added) to develop the capacity of the parliament and political dialogue needs to be strengthened” (Progress Report, 2012). From this point of view we see the “non obligatory” nature of the Report, on the other hand according to the title (“report”) says that it has more informative character rather than obligatory document. The terms such as “*should play a greater role*” and “*continued efforts are needed*” produce only directions for the state to be followed. On that way the soft power is exercised over the reports. The state builds its policy according to the directions given by the European Union; shaping its behavior in a way desired by the EU and all of that on a voluntary base, with aim creating a developed system that would mean a readiness for membership in the European Union. That could be note as a definition for the soft power exercised over the reports in this way. If the positive aspect of the soft power means *intention* for advancement and progress of the political, economic and legal system in the state and later, accession to the EU, we have another aspect through we can look at the this situation. As we said above, the reports means announcement on the situation but most often that announcement on the situation is not appropriate to the real condition of the state. The problem is that the evaluation has been made basically according to the fact – how many changes has been made in the legislation in particular area, where the European Union pointed on the needed changes, but not on how that changes the reality:

[the] parliament adopted 10 new laws and revised over 80 others, including some relating to *acquis* reforms, raising concerns about the inclusivity of the process [...] There have been no amendments to the Constitution since 2011, and it is broadly in line with European standards (Progress report, 2013).

There is only difference in the latest Report (2014) where has been sent a more rigorous critic that is different from the usual way for evaluation of the situation so far. In the part addressed to the *Judiciary and fundamental rights*, is said:

One of the main challenges is the growing concern voiced about the selectivity of, and influence over, law enforcement and the judiciary. The basic rule of law principle, that justice must not only be done but must also *be seen to be done*, is not fully understood or

respected by the authorities in terms of law enforcement actions targeted at specific persons or sectors (Progress report, 2014).

Besides the enhanced “rigorous critic”, the non obligatory effect of the Report itself, stays unchanged and there are no any further fines in that manner. Again it leads us to the mechanism of the soft power. If we try to draw a conclusion by this cite than it will be dedicated to the soft power of the European Union and the problem in it, because even the noted suggestions in the reports (speaking for the Republic of Macedonia, in particular), the same problems even spread, remains. If the EU’s work till today was to maintain the directions to the state about how to achieve the results needed for accession, with special emphasis that despite the *de iure* are important the *de facto* results as well – “that justice must not only be done but must also *be seen to be done*. The European Union, usually, recognize that in an area are enforced around ten new laws and that could result with a positive statement by the EC: the state makes an effort. That means, in this part the problems are solving and with implementation of the laws – the problems would be completely solved. But if after a few years in one of the next reports would be note the same problem again, that was previously been considered as solved, there must be a problem the relation between the executor of the power (EU) on one side and the subject on the other side (Republic of Macedonia). Because of this “reaction” of the state on the “action” by the EU – over the exercising of the soft power of the enlargement policy, could be located the further problems:

- The state has a political interest (that is different of their citizens) to delay the process of accession;
- A deficit on legal and political instruments during the implementation of the soft power by the European Union.

About the first problem, it could be diverse. As a candidate country, the state enjoy specific privileges and help of the European Union but the state sovereignty is still not shared with the EU, and it means more freedom in enforcing its “own” politics without any special control from the EU about it. On that way, the state can practice “double policy” – the one with the EU where it can be shown the picture about the reforms and its enforcement and the efforts for accession. On the other hand, a front of the citizens is showed another picture where they just see that we work but the EU is not enough satisfied and does not appreciate our effort. While, in the other hand a front of the population is presented that the EU does not like the Republic Macedonia as its member. The name issue between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece along with the unanimity of the EU, just confirm that situation where the Republic of Macedonia is a “martyr” with clear will for accession otherwise the will of the EU is very vague. Unfortunately the “formal” policy that state relate with the EU produces just “formal” results i.e. *summum ius - summa iniuria*. On the other hand, the second problem is in the lack of political instruments, the EU is trying to maintain through the new process called as High Level Accession Dialogue – HLAD. As the commissioner S. Fule says: “We are now in a second, more challenging phase where we need to focus on concrete measures and indicators of progress. Much work will need to be done between now and our next meeting”, it means work practiced up to now need more engagement, enhanced intensity and concreteness.



### ***The High Level Accession Dialogue***

The High Level Accession Dialogue (HLAD) for a first time is launched to case with the Republic of Macedonia. Because of the lasting long candidate status of the country, the EU aims to continue the further co-operation besides the absence of negotiations. The aim of the HLAD is addressing the key areas that are problems for the state:

- Freedom of expression and professional standards;
- Rule of law;
- Public administration reforms;
- Electoral reforms;
- Strengthening the market economy.

The HLAD has been established in 2012 and was expected to be a new phase in the enlargement process of the European Union toward the Republic of Macedonia. In its Enlargement strategy and Main Challenges 2013-2014, the Commission in the relation to the enlargement process and the new Dialog stressed: “the HLAD has contributed to progress in most priority areas. The progress being made under HLAD will stand the country in good stead when negotiations begin. However it is not, and cannot be, a substitute for moving to the opening of accession negotiations”. (ESMC, 2013) Although have been given a lot of significance to the HLAD, it was not applied in the reality as it was seen at the beginning. There are no new moments with its launching but only a few segments of the process are drawn. As it has been stressed into the Enlargement strategy, the Dialog has more political than legal significance and thus, it is more instrument of the soft power than a legal act of help to the enlargement policy. The Dialog refers to a period when the state faces the problems and veto by its neighbor on the euro-integration way and the European Union understand the need of the changes aims to proof its intention for accepting the state as a member. The Dialog along with the Roadmap (it is the government obligation and is made by), are two implemented over two mechanisms: strategy and operative (technical) mechanism. The strategy mechanism is compound by the priority tasks of the pre-accession process, drawn as main areas of the Dialog. While, in the operative or the technical mechanisms are the instruments and the institutions to the activities the government planed according to the Dialog. In this way, the government prepares the *Roadmap for the implementation of the Priority activities of the High Level Accession Dialogue* where the further plans are set i.e. the aims that should be achieved presented in the HLAD.

If we take the Progress report 2014 as an indicator on the progress of the state and we see the segments that are drawn of it and set as a main areas in the HLAD, the expected progress is not just unachieved but the that areas in particular became worst than before and being additionally criticized by the Commission. That means the HLAD does not bring any changes in better way to the European integration. The HLAD is just an instrument for *attraction* and point to the presence of the EU in the state policy potentiates to significance of the integration itself through establishing a new mechanism although they do not make any elementary move in a positive way of the process. If we thought on the fact that the EU enlargement policy is founded to the soft power principles, than we could put the HLAD in that category, judging by the intention of the European Union.

### *The civil society and the public opinion*

Next method not only of creating a policy of the state but a method of directing of the civil society activities (and the public opinion) is over the projects funded by the EU mentioned in the programs above. Funding the projects should not be seen as *bribe* to the state but it can be seen as an obvious and legitimate mutual benefit (between the EU and the Republic of Macedonia) for both of the sides. We potentiate “an obvious and legitimate mutual benefit” to draw a clear line between the payment and bribe that Joseph Nye said on the hard power and the soft power elements we talk about in this case. Noting the importance of the civil society and the public opinion as well, in the Commission communication from 2012 is stated:

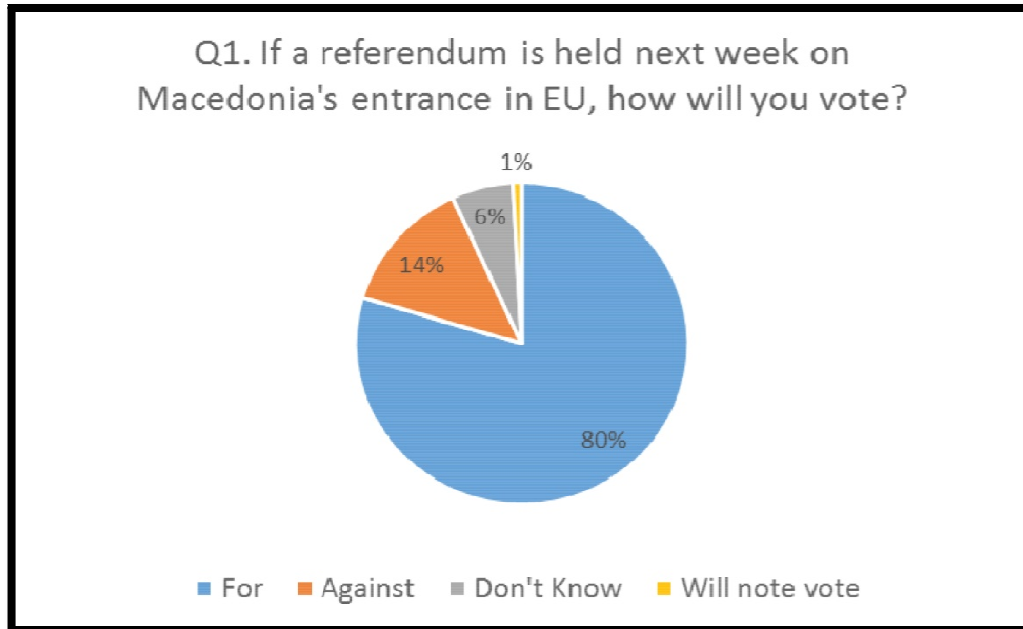
An empowered civil society is a crucial component of any democratic system and is an asset in itself. It represents and fosters pluralism and can contribute to more effective policies, equitable and sustainable development and inclusive growth. It is an important player in fostering peace and in conflict resolution. (...) CSOs therefore contribute to building more accountable and legitimate states, leading to enhanced social cohesion and more open and deeper democracies (Commission Communication, 2012).

That benefit for the state is in the funding of the projects of the civil society, and the EU is bring its benefit according its priorities and if the project is not according the needs of the EU toward evaluation it will be denied. In the Progress report 2013 are set the follow areas

(...) dialogue and cooperation between government and civil society needs to improve in practice, notably with those organizations dealing with social reform, gender equality, Roma, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) rights. The government needs to show greater openness to involving civil society.

On that way the EU is modeling the behavior of the state institutions but the civic sector too, appeals on their mutual co-operation, setting patterns and areas of acting. Mostly there are areas of significant meaning as value pillars of the EU policy, but they are not so much promoted in these parts of Europe. On this way the EU make a promotion of them aims acceptance by the subject/state. The soft power could use the public opinion in two ways: indirect way, where the public opinion is used as a tool for achieving particular political goal, and direct where the public opinion is an aim itself. At the first, the indirect way means “communication to the public of the other states in manner of influencing the opinion of the other states over the indirect model” (Nye, 2012). In this case the public opinion is a tool which modified the public opinion in matter to impact the behavior of the government. At the second, the direct way means modeling to the public opinion not to impact the opinion of the government but for other goals. It could be trade, new values, new way of living etc. The European Union in the relation to the Republic of Macedonia practices the both of the models. Through the direct model the public opinion the EU make an area for acceptance of the EU’s values, the way of working, through informal model of education, a lot of programs and present of the standard and the lifestyle of the EU. So, the EU attracts the public, creating a base for further political changes. If the population would be “pro-European” oriented the further political changes would be welcome and accepted. Otherwise, if the government would act in an unacceptable way for the public, the public opinion is a main reviewer to the policy, forming the government behavior according to the accepted worldview. Although the process last with years the public is directly involved in the whole process of the case of the Republic of Macedonia, the EU obviously pays a lot of attention toward the public

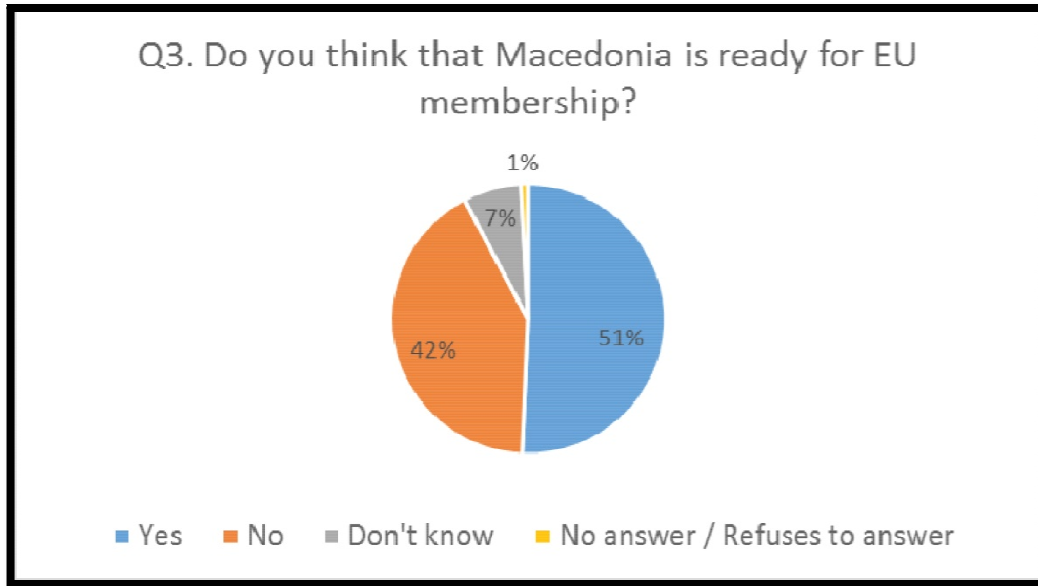
i.e. public opinion, using it as a tool and as a goal, also. According to the survey made by the Institute for Democracy “Societas Civilis” supported by Konrad Adenauer Foundation, shows the Macedonian public opinion is in direction to the EU integration and beside the long last process and the uncertainty of the membership.



**Figure 1: If a referendum is held next week on Macedonia's entrance in EU, how will you vote? (Source: IDSCS, 2014)**

*Support for the European integration of Macedonia is high. A large majority of the respondents (80%) said that if there is a referendum for Macedonia's entry in the EU, they will vote in favor, while a small minority of 14% will be against (IDSCS, 2014).*

The survey shows the successfulness of the European Union in aspect of modeling with the public opinion in a way desired by the EU. That should means the direct factor of the public opinion is the EU only not the government of the Republic of Macedonia. That could be seen by the answer of the question, that concerning the fulfillment of the criteria and the progress of the state.



**Figure 2: Do you think that Macedonia is ready for EU membership? (Source: IDSCS, 2014)**

*Half of the population thinks that Macedonia is ready for EU membership. Fifty one percent think that Macedonia is ready for EU membership, while 42% think it is not. The citizens are divided in their evaluation of the progress in the EU integration process over the last year. Almost half of the respondents (47%) have an opinion that Macedonia advanced in the process, while 20% think that the advancements are small. Almost one third (31%) of the respondents consider that progress is lacking or there was a regress (IDSCS, 2014).*

If we sum that 47 % of the responders think that the state have advanced versus the sum of the responders that think the progress is small (20%) i.e. it stagnates and regresses, than we get 51 % of the responders think the Republic of Macedonia is not ready for the EU, but 80 % of the responders believe the membership is necessary, though. Thus despite the negative opinion on the advance of the Republic of Macedonia in relation to the EU membership, the result is positive. It additionally confirms the result where “almost every second respondent (48%) says the Report will be the same as last year, while 28% think that it will show progress...” that means the Progress reports not always match to the reality and the perception of the public. The public opinion on accession of the state in the EU is not a result of the state reforms in the political system by the government, but as a result of the value – cultural framework and the other elements the EU uses in forming of the public opinion. That attitude toward public opinion (according to the responders) is a result on the intention of implementation the EU soft power.

## CONCLUSION

From the case study with the Republic of Macedonia, can be noted that the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria is not always in proportion to the Progress reports, partially it is because of the inability to be followed its fulfillment because of its generality, and partially because of the ability for manipulation with the facts by the government. Any additional news is not introduced with the High Level Accession Dialogue nor anything is changed in favor of the enlargement process, but the attention and the hope for membership in the EU are kept. From the survey used to measure the public opinion and the attitude toward the EU, additionally confirms the previously exposed conclusions by the research, the Progress reports and the measures accepted by the government, for the enlargement process.

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## THE HIGH LEVEL ACCESSION DIALOGUE FOR MACEDONIA: ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

**Mladen Karadjoski, PhD**

*Law Faculty, University “St. Clement of Ohrid” – Bitola  
mladenkaradzowski1983@gmail.com*

### Abstract

*One of the strategic goals for the Republic of Macedonia is membership in the European Union. At the end of 2011, the Commission launched a so-called High Level Accession Dialogue for Macedonia, with a possibility to start the negotiations after the fulfillment of the Dialogue goals and benchmarks. For these reasons, the main goal of this paper will be to give an answer of the dilemma whether the Accession Dialogue for Macedonia is an accelerator of the entrance in the European Union, or is just a sophisticated tool for delay of the start of the negotiations for final accession. The expected results will correspond with the future EU plans for Macedonia, but also for the other Western Balkan countries, i.e. we will try to examine whether these countries have a realistic perspective for entrance in the European Union, or they are just a “declarative décor” for the vocabulary of the Brussels diplomats and member countries representatives. That will help to determine i.e. to try to predict the next steps of these countries, connected with the European integration, regardless of the actual constellation in the European Union concerning the Enlargement policy. The descriptive method, content analyses method, comparative method, but also the inductive and deductive methods will be used in this paper.*

*Key words: accession; benchmark; dialogue; negotiations; integration*

### INTRODUCTION

One of the Western Balkan countries strategic interests and desires is the membership in the European Union. At the beginning of 2014, Croatia is out of the Western Balkan “umbrella”, Montenegro and Serbia are moving forward towards EU membership, Albania is having an “integration improvement”, Kosovo is at an early stage concerning EU accession, Bosnia and Herzegovina is facing some problems, but what is most interesting, Macedonia, the first Balkan country which has signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union in 2001, is in a status quo position almost a decade. This status quo can be divided in two periods: the first one from 2005 – 2009, and the second from 2009 – 2014, still continuing. In the first period, Macedonia gained the status of a candidate country for membership in the European Union, but did not receive a positive recommendation by the European Commission. In the second period, Macedonia has received continuous positive recommendations by the European Commission, but did not manage to start the negotiation process for accession towards the European Union, because the European Council refused the recommendations given by the Commission. The public in Macedonia is tending for a new period, starting from 2014, a period for consideration of the negotiation stops with the European Union. The European Union possesses a variety of instruments and modalities for observation, evaluation and monitoring of the accession processes towards membership for each of the candidate or potential candidate

countries for EU membership, including Macedonia. Usually, these are the annual reports, accession partnerships, short term, mid-term or long term benchmarks, brought by the European Commission and all these have common structure, purpose and time framework, for all candidate and potential candidate countries towards EU membership. Still, a special instrument was launched by the European Commission for Macedonia at the end of 2011 and at the beginning of 2012, named as High Level Accession Dialogue (HLAD). In this paper we will try to examine whether this Dialogue has generated an improvement and progress in the Macedonian accession process towards EU, or is it just a “sophisticated tool” for delay of the start of the negotiations Macedonia – European Union, caused by the unresolved “name issue” with Greece and some other aspects of the Macedonian neighborhood relations. Also, we will try to explain the impact of the High Level Accession Dialogue on the public attitude in Macedonia, but also on the level of support of the Macedonian processes of integration towards the European Union, by the general and expert public in the country.

### **THE GENESIS OF THE HIGH LEVEL ACCESSION DIALOGUE**

High Level Accession Dialogue (also known as HLAD) was first mentioned in April 2011 during the visit to Ohrid of European Commission’s President, Jose Manuel Barroso, and EU Enlargement Commissioner, Stefan Fule, when they met with the Prime Minister Gruevski and other government representatives. Goal of the visit was to unlock the deadlocked relations between Macedonia and EU, after two years (at that time) from EC’s recommendation to start accession negotiations that could not officially start because of the unresolved name issue with Greece. (HLAD for the deaf, 2012, p.7). The first meeting on the High Level Accession Dialogue was held on 15 March 2012 in Skopje. Actually, this meeting was a constitutive one, where the general principles and guidelines of the HLAD were given. This Dialogue is taking place twice a year: once in Skopje and once in Brussels. The “aim of HLAD is to put the EU integration to the forefront of the domestic agenda and give it a new boost. The Dialogue aims to enhance the support of the European Commission for the accession process of Macedonia by ensuring a structured, high level discussion on the main reform challenges and opportunities. The Dialogue provides support to the accession process of the country by focusing on key reform priorities. It does not replace accession negotiations but it forms a bridge to them”. (Fule, 2014)

This statement by the EU Commissioner for Enlargement was very encouraging for Macedonia in every aspect. It was declared that this Dialogue is a complementary tool for the acceleration of the Macedonian accession processes towards the European Union, besides the regular procedures for accession, which are common for each candidate country. But, the main dilemma is whether EU really needs this supplementary tool for the Macedonian integration path. It can be interpreted as an additional impetus for Macedonia, but also as a justification for the status quo position of Macedonia. The general public in Macedonia is very indifferent concerning the interpretation of the HLAD and does not enter into deeper analyses, but there are many questions raised by the expert community, dealing with these issues. In order to determine the mechanisms through which the established high Level Accession Dialogue takes place, as well as the technical dialogue in Chapter 23 Judiciary and Human Rights and Chapter 24 Justice, freedom and security, the Government of the 51st session held on 20 March 2012 determined and adopted the necessary structures for the successful conduct of the process, tracking and monitoring activities which have to be implemented at the same pace. According to the established process of monitoring the implementation of the priorities (reform objectives) of

accessible high-level dialogue and monitoring the status of implementation of activities arising from operating Roadmap, it will be implemented through the following two mechanisms: Strategic mechanism (accessible high-level dialogue) and Operational (technical) mechanism. Strategic mechanism includes accessible established high-level dialogue within which continuously key priorities identified at the first meeting are monitored. Operational (technical) mechanism is the driving mechanism and the support of high-level dialogue and it simultaneously monitors the progress of actions agreed at the strategic (political) level. At the framework of operational structures for monitoring accessible high-level dialogue and technical dialogue in Chapter 23 Judiciary and Human Rights and Chapter 24 Justice, freedom and security, a Working Group of Ministers was formed to monitor the implementation of the priorities determined at the first meeting of HLAD and implementation of operational activities in the Roadmap. Working structure is composed of Vice President of the Government in charge of European Affairs (Coordinator of WG), Minister of Foreign Affairs (Deputy Coordinator of WG), Vice President of Government responsible for the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, Vice President of Government and Minister of Finance, Vice President of Government for Economic Affairs, Minister of Interior, Minister of Justice, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs and the Minister of Information Society and Administration (Report to the European Commission 2012, p. 8). First, let's explain the main features and characteristics of the HLAD and determine the areas where the main activities are oriented to. The first area in the HLAD is the Freedom of expression and the media. It is determined as one of the "areas of bigger concern", "problematic areas", "areas with bigger improvement efforts needed", etc., dependent of the vocabulary of the European Commission. After the recommendations given, a few activities were taken by the Macedonian Government.

In November 2012, amendments to the Criminal Code were adopted, decriminalizing defamation and insult. A new Law on Civil Liability for Insult and Defamation was also adopted, among other things setting out maximum levels of damages which could be awarded by civil courts in defamation cases. The Broadcasting Council improved its enforcement record as regards illegal concentration of ownership and conflicts of interest. It also adopted new guidelines on the promotion of pluralism and competition in the media market and on the non-selective imposition of sanctions, as well as a new Broadcasting Strategy 2012-17. Work is ongoing to align national legislation with the Audio-visual Media Services Directive. It is essential that the process of adoption of any legislation related to media and freedom of expression is inclusive and involves all stake-holders. No progress has been made as regards increasing the transparency of government advertising, which was also part of the work program of the Media Working Group. There are continued concerns about self-censorship, poor labor rights of journalists and the public's access to objective reporting. Moreover, during the local elections in March 2013, observers noted a lack of balance in coverage by the public broadcaster and private stations. (Report to the European Parliament, 2013, pp. 3 - 4)

The second area is the rule of law and fundamental rights. This segment is emphasized in the HLAD because the connection between the functionality of the state and the rule of law is very close. The continuity and stability of the law system is very important not only in the pre-accession period, but also after the entrance of the Republic Macedonia in the European Union.

As regards the efficiency of the justice system, courts at all levels maintained a positive clearance rate in 2012, meaning that the majority were able to process as many cases as they received, or more. In December, a further 6 judicial vacancies were filled in the Supreme Court and the Administrative Court, improving the ability to handle their caseloads. A long - term



strategy to ensure the correct distribution of human resources within the justice system is however still outstanding. The capacity to generate reliable data on the overall length of court proceedings, including the enforcement of judgments, and in particular the number of old cases, needs to be developed.

As regards the prevention of corruption, following the amendment of the legislative framework in 2012 to provide for systematic verification of statements of interest by the State Commission for the Prevention of Corruption (SCPC), 483 statements submitted by MPs, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and officials elected or appointed by Parliament were verified. Several conflicts of interest were identified and the conflict addressed. A full overview of all investigations, indictments, convictions and sentences, including for high level corruption cases, is currently being compiled, together with data on all misdemeanor penalties, tax penalties and disciplinary sanctions imposed in recent years. The exercise brings together multiple bodies, including the police, financial police, Customs Administration, Public Revenue Office, public prosecution and courts, as well as the SCPC. Steps should continue to be taken to strengthen inter-agency cooperation and information flow in order to identify and address any weaknesses in the fight against corruption. (Report to the European Parliament, 2013, pp. 4 - 5)

The third “problematic area” is the public administration reform. This area is a real “headache” since the gaining of the Macedonian independence in 1991, but even before that, during the Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. An updated Strategy on Public Administration Reform was adopted by the Government in October 2012 to take account of the developments in the area since adoption in 2010. Preparatory work continued on advancing the legislative framework for civil and public service and general administrative procedures. Drafting of the respective laws has progressed in consultation with EU experts. Following a public consultation in December 2012, a policy paper was adopted by the government in January 2013 setting out the main objectives of the new law on general administrative procedure. The government tasked the working group with preparing a draft text of the law by end 2013.

As regards decentralization and regional policy, following a review, the government adopted a methodology in March 2013 for monitoring implementation of the Decentralization Program and Action Plan. Funding of capital investment projects in regions has been maintained. Full implementation of the 2008 law and the Strategy for regional development 2009-2019 remains however a challenge, particularly the requirement to provide adequate resources to regional economic development activities through the regional development bodies. Achieving financial sustainability of municipalities is required to ensure that all the transferred/decentralized competencies can be carried out. (Report to the European Parliament, 2013, pp. 6 - 7)

The fourth area, which is a subject of detailed analyzes is electoral reform. Elections can be very subtle issues in the Balkan countries, because of the mentality, but also because of the enormous inter-connection between the politicians with the other parts of the society, and their huge influence at the people daily lives.

Amendments to the Electoral Code and the Law on Financing of Political Parties were adopted in November 2012, addressing some of the OSCE/ODIHR, Venice Commission and GRECO recommendations. The amendments covered areas such as the separation between party and state and increased transparency of political party and campaign finances. A number of recommendations, especially regarding the discrepancy on thresholds for private and corporate campaign contributions, deadlines for auditing interim campaign finance reports, allocation of mandates for out-of-country voters, as well as an audit of the voter's list were not addressed. In

advance of the local elections, the accuracy of the Voters' List was improved mainly by conducting checks of people with and without biometric passports or ID-cards. All major parties supported a change to the legislation that would allow only citizens with a valid biometric document to exercise the right to vote. Election Day was calm and polling well organized in a majority of the polling stations. Voters were able to freely express their choice in a calm atmosphere. There was a high turn-out. OSCE/ODIHR reported, however, that allegations of voter intimidation and misuse of state resources persisted throughout the election campaign, and that separation between state and political party was blurred. Media covered the campaign extensively, but several broadcasters, including the public broadcaster, did not provide a balanced coverage of the campaign. While there was enhanced confidence in the accuracy of voter lists, the procedures for compiling and maintaining the lists can be further improved. (Report to the European Parliament, 2013, pp. 7 - 8)

And the last area in the HLAD is strengthening the market economy. This commitment should be a long term obligation and should represent a Macedonian economic imperative in the future. Together with the other economic sub-criteria, it should be a permanent and inherent part of the country development strategies and policies. In mid-October 2012, the Government adopted an Action Plan for Youth Employment covering the period from 2012 to 2015 that should help to tackle the problem of high level of youth unemployment by promoting more and better jobs for young people. The plan includes both structural and active measures. Amendments to laws related to the labor market were adopted in December 2012, aimed at improving labor market statistics and better identifying the real number of unemployed. Implementation of the on-going active labor market measures continues but with limited efficiency. In December 2012 the Government adopted the 2013 Operational Action Plan for Active Programs and Employment Measures. The financial allocations for active labor market programs remain low. (Report to the European Parliament, 2013, pp.8 - 9)

### **DILEMMAS AND COST –BENEFIT ANALYSES OF THE HLAD**

The HLAD is widely accepted by the Macedonian institutions and citizens. Still, as a members of the academic community, we must reveal certain dilemmas about the expediency of the High Level Accession Dialogue. Given that the areas highlighted and enumerated in the High Level Accession Dialogue, are also contained in the regular reports of the European Commission, the question and dilemma of the accuracy of the format, i.e. physiognomy of HLAD are raised. The five areas that are determined in the dialogue are just some of the areas that need more attention by the European Commission. Paternalistic approach of the European Commission is required in all social segments that concerns one or more chapters of acquis communautaire, especially in sensitive political constellation related to a country that is a candidate for membership in the European Union. Certainly the political weight of Chapter 24 - Justice, freedom and security and let's say, Chapter 18 - Statistics is not equal, but the legal meaning is equivalent, i.e., the state that leads negotiations, both can 'persist' and face the challenges with one and the other chapter. If analyzed through the prism of some preparation and prelude to the negotiation process for membership, that Macedonia should start by getting the 'green light' by the European Council, then it can be concluded that the intention of the European Commission is good in terms of mobilizing and equipping the institutions and citizens of the Republic of Macedonia to the obligations ahead. Some of the advantages of the HLAD are:

1. Focus on specific areas that are considered most vulnerable, and where more efforts are needed from the state;
2. Animation of the public in the Republic of Macedonia to the importance of the commencement of the negotiation process for membership in the country;
3. Encouraging the state to stay on the 'European way' despite the many political obstacles and obstructions;
4. Verifying the strategic goal of EU enlargement in the Western Balkans;
5. Maintenance of energy and continuity of institutions and the public in the Republic of Macedonia concerning the accession of the EU;
6. "Justification" of the Commission for the stagnation of Macedonia towards EU, etc. However, HLAD has also many immanent weaknesses that are not visible to the simple Macedonian citizen, yet striking at the academic community in Macedonia. Some of these weaknesses are:
  - a) Interpretation of HLAD as a substitute for opening the negotiation stops;
  - b) Making the parallels between the real and associative membership, as well as between HLAD and the start of negotiations;
  - c) Needless duplication of fields and segments included in regular reports of the European Commission in the Republic of Macedonia which are incorporated in the HLAD;
  - d) The negative feeling that HLAD is only compensatory mechanism to maintain the high level of public support for the European Union, which can be disrupted by prolonging the start of negotiations, generated by political blockade of Greece;
  - e) Bureaucraticizing the procedure for accession of the Republic of Macedonia to the European Union, through the provision of additional specific obligations which are upgrading the already established obligations under the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and other law - binding acts etc.

European Union and its representatives are explicit in supporting HLAD, as well as categorical in persuading the Macedonian public that this tool is no substitute for negotiations, but that is some prelude and preparation for them. On the other hand, Macedonian politicians are also seeing positively on the HLAD, and thus, they accept and intensively work on the content and implementation of the recommendations contained in it. The media in Macedonia treat HLAD with great attention and closely monitor the events associated with it. Macedonian public, in the broadest sense, has minor knowledge of formal and contextual features of the High Level Accession Dialogue, so their eventual amorphous attitude which it owns is irrelevant for academic analysis and debate. High Level Accession Dialogue in the academic community in Macedonia is analyzed from different aspects, i.e. multidimensional. One of those aspects is legal - formal aspect, i.e. whether HLAD originates from some 'enlargement acquis' or this aspect is abstracted from this instrument. Another aspect is the political aspect and the level of relevance of the HLAD is much greater as it is mostly political - declarative act which is a specific tool aimed at specific candidate country. In value terms, however, it can be analyzed through the prism of classification of the HLAD as standard or non-standard model for bilateral cooperation in the Western Balkans, including Macedonia. Cost-benefit aspects will be perceived by some time since after the establishment of HLAD, i.e. after quantitatively and qualitatively will be measured its effects on the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia towards the European Union, especially in terms of progress in areas that are highlighted and underlined in the HLAD. Finally, from a purely academic perspective, the High Level Accession Dialogue is

nothing else but closer and precise explanation of the required reforms, decisions and activities of the Macedonian institutions, already noted in the regular annual reports of the European Commission for the Republic of Macedonia. The difference is that in HLAD these recommendations are much more specific, clearer and more pronounced, in order to be achieved more explicit and more tangible results. Regardless of the angle of perception of High Level Accession Dialogue, the general conclusion is that through its promotion, HLAD focuses the public attention on the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia to the European Union, confirms the continued support for this strategic priority of Macedonia, animate the institutions for effective and efficient action in the implementation of reforms and projects, and that means acceleration of the process of accession of the Republic of Macedonia to the European Union.

## CONCLUSION

The High Level Accession Dialogue (HLAD) for Macedonia has very ambiguous conceptual basis and intention, in the academic sense of the word. Namely, we should pose and answer some questions: Is this Dialogue essential for Macedonia? Is it a *conditio sine qua non* for the Macedonian accession process towards the European Union? Could this Dialogue be a complementary measure for improvement of the regular “road to membership”? We can have different attitude about the “costs and benefits” of the HLAD for Macedonia, but we have to emphasize several explicit and obvious implications: first, the High Level Accession dialogue can not be a substitution for the standard procedures which candidate countries should fulfill before entering EU, which procedures are written in the Union legal acts; second, HLAD is very useful for Macedonia if we understand it as a toll for improvement of the “problematic areas” in the country; third, it should be treated as an additional help for Macedonia in concentration of the “state efforts and activities” in certain segments, which are important both for the country and the European Union; etc. Actually, the concrete political constellation around Macedonia initiated the High Level Accession Dialogue, and one of the EU goals with this instrument is to show that Macedonia is still on the EU accession track, and that the reforms should continue with an intensive dynamics, regardless of the name issue with Greece and the other bilateral problems and misunderstandings with the neighbors. The connection of the good neighborhood relations with the High Level Accession Dialogue, as a kind of “informally inherent” part of the HLAD is only a confirmation and verification of the importance of this element, regarding the Macedonian accession towards the European Union. As a conclusion we can note that the High Level Accession Dialogue (HLAD) can be interpreted dependent on the approach of the researcher, but one thing is for sure: it will help to animate the public in Macedonia and to emphasize the great importance of the Macedonian entrance towards the European Union, as sooner as possible, because every single delay can generate additional obligations, additional efforts, and of course, loss of productive energy, time and, lost of patience at the general public and citizens.

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## THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION: THE PERSPECTIVES OF NEOFUNCTIONALIST THEORY

**Nikola Lj. Ilievski, MA**

*Law Faculty, University St. Clement of Ohrid - Bitola*

*n\_lj\_ilievski@yahoo.com*

### **Abstract**

*This paper is qualitative research of the concept of political integration. It represents case study of the concept of political integration appearing in the theory of neofunctionalism. The research focus could be identified with the concept of political integration, in the perspective of the theory of neofunctionalism. The purpose of this research paper is the cognition of a various types of the concept of political integration and its activating, from the perspectives of neofunctionalism. In the scope of this paper, for the purpose of the research, content analysis method and comparative method are used. Also, a special accent is laid on the terms of integration in a political sense, the term of political integration as a part of this broader one and the concept of spill-over effect. Within the concept of political integration, it could be understood various types of political integration. In parallel, the concept of spill-over effect is examined as concept with a huge role in the theory of neofunctionalism. The synthesis of the two mentioned concepts, the one of political integration and the one of spill-over effect, would answer the question of the activating the process of political integration, and its potential dependence of existing other types of integration in a political sense.*

*Key words: political integration; neofunctionalism; spill-over effect*

### **INTRODUCTION**

This paper is a qualitative research of the concept of political integration. It represents *case study* of the concept of political integration appearing in the theory of neofunctionalism. The research focus could be identified as the concept of political integration, in the perspective of the theory of neofunctionalism. The purpose of this research paper is the cognition of a various types of the concept of political integration and its activating, from the perspective of the theory of neofunctionalism. In the scope of this paper, for the purpose of the research, *content analysis* method and *comparative method* are used. Also, a special accent is laid on the terms of *integration in a political sense*, the term of political integration as a part of this broader one and the concept of *spill-over* effect. Within the concept of political integration, it could be understood various types of political integration. On the other side, the concept of *spill-over* effect is examined as concept which plays a huge role in the theory of neofunctionalism. The synthesis of the two mentioned concepts, the one of political integration and the one of *spill-over* effect, would answer the question of the activating the process of political integration, and its potential dependence of existing other types of integration in a political sense.

The presence of the term integration, especially integration in a political sense in everyday political life, is enormous. Lot of political scientists and political philosophers are talking about the political integration, as a method of exceeding the dominant existing concept of the nation

state. The phenomenon of the political integration and also in general, integration in a political sense could be connected with the present form of regional integrations that are occurring in the international constellation and relations. As an initial point, the integration in a political sense and narrowly, the political integration could be identified in the European Union. The European Union is the first project following the *integration in a political sense*, based on the theory of neofunctionalism, and also, in which the concept of political integration is adopted as a theoretical concept and is transformed in empirical reality. In that sense, the concept of political integration is projected according the neofunctionalist theory of integration.

The existing connection of the concepts of integration as a general term and political integration, as a particular term, would be examined through the logical method of deduction. The term integration could be viewed from different angles and it could be understood in different senses. There are various manifestations of the term *Integration*. The integration could be interpreted as a social integration, cultural integration, integration in a political sense, integration as a method in mathematics and other meanings of the term. This paper examines the concept of integration in a political sense, as a wider concept, and narrowly, the political integration as a subcategory of the integration in a political sense. This categorizing of the integration as a term is based on the relation that the term builds with different fields of the social living, and with different scientific disciplines.

## THE INTEGRATION IN A POLITICAL SENSE

### *The meaning of the integration in a political sense*

The integration in a political sense and the political integration are relating to the social sciences in broader sense, and narrowly to the political and economic sciences. The meaning of integration in a political sense, could be identified with *uniting, unifying, organizing in a group* of two or more units. On the other side it represents “*centralization*” (Hoppe 2007, 109). In that dimension, understood as *uniting* and *centralization*, the integration always could be connected and based on several conditions and elements (Ilievski 2015, 12):

- Establishing unified law frame,
- Creating common institutions,
- Developing decision-making center,
- Projecting *identity*.

This category of the term integration could refer to a potential uniting of two or more political units, and applying to them the four mentioned conditions. In that dimension, the integration in a political sense results in building a *political community*, with the political units as its contents, through establishing same frame of rules, creating common institutions with the power of decision-making, and projecting an identity of the integrated community (instead of previous existing identities of the political units). The main point in this integrating activity is the process of delegating the autonomy of the political units to the newly formed political community.

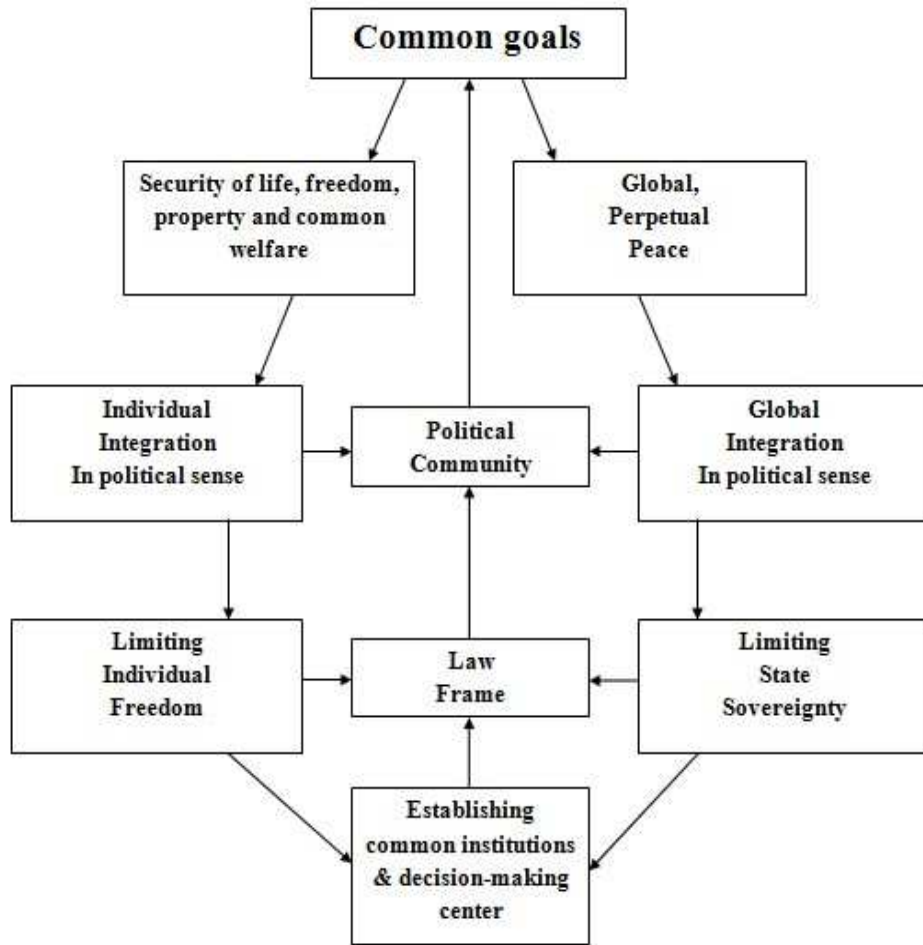
### *Theories of integration in a political sense*

The first theories of *integration in a political sense* locate their origin in the theories of social contract. In that sense, the social contract could be identified with integration, but on individual level. The subjects of the integration are the individuals, which limit their *freedom* in a favor of a newly established *political community*. Implicitly, of this kind of integration, are writing several philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. According to these social contract theories, before the establishing of the social contract, *state of nature* (Hobbes 2010, Ch. XIII) is present in the social relations. This condition could be recognized as a condition without any political authorities, the human behavior is characterized as selfish and destructive, resulting in a *war of all against all* (Hobbes 2010, Ch. XXIII). The solution of this unpleasant condition becomes the *Leviathan*, which symbolize the state, as a form of individual integration in a political sense. In the same direction, John Locke, finds the state – the form of social contract and individual integration in a political sense, as a guaranty of *human life, liberty and property* (Locke 2006, 230). Jean Jacques Rousseau, as his integrationists' predecessors, determines the social contract as a *social consensus*, or a *social will*, developed with the purpose of establishing and remaining a *common welfare* (Rousseau 1978, 47-53).

At the same period, Immanuel Kant, goes one step further, and provides the basis for *global integration in a political sense*. Kant proposes his idea of global federation (Kant 1917, 53) that consists of republics that delegate their sovereignty to upper state level, and achieve a global integration in a political sense. His inspiration of this idea could be located in the aspiration of achieving a *perpetual peace*. He finds the global integration in a political sense as a method for achieving a greater good – *perpetual peace*, in the same way as the theorists of social contract, finds the same one for achieving security of life, freedom, property and common welfare. In the late XX century, there is another political philosopher that revives the Kant's ideal of global and *perpetual peace*, but with enhanced inspiration of the global political activities in that period. Emery Reves, in the same direction as Kant, is developing a theory for global integration in a political sense, a theory of global federation (Reves 2006, 139-140). His tendency is achieving a global peace, and, the same as Kant, he finds the global integration as a tool for his theory's purpose. In all of these theories (for integration in a political sense), could be distinguished:

- Common goals (achieving security of life, freedom, property, common welfare, global, perpetual peace)
- First methods of achieving the goals (individual integration in a political sense and global integration in a political sense – establishing (global) political community)
- Second methods of achieving the goals (limiting the individual freedom or autonomy and limiting the state sovereignty – establishing law frame)
- Third methods of achieving the goals (establishing common institutions and decision-making center).





**Figure 1: Analyze of integration in a political sense**

By the term *integration in a political sense*, it could be understood various forms and interpretations of the term integration. It could be examined two different differentiations that are involved in the broader term of integration in a political sense. The first one is based on a *sector* variable:

- *Political integration,*
- *Economic integration.*

The second one is based on a *geography* variable:

- *Regional integration,*
- *Global integration.*

The last categories - regional integration and global integration, could correspond with the first categories of political and economic integration. It would be in the same scope with the integration in a political sense. The main relation, that determines the last category, is developed on dependence of a territory variable. The second categories, the economic and the political integration indicate accomplishing the previous mentioned four conditions, which are applying in the economics and (foreign) political policies of the governing.

This paper emphasizes the first category of the broader meaning of *integration in a political sense – political integration*. In the following part, the term integration would be used in its political sense.

## NEOFUNCTIONALISM AND THE *SPILL-OVER* EFFECT

Neofunctionalism is a theory that anticipates the regional integration and its theoretical goal - achieving *regional integration*, represented as establishing supranational institutions in certain sectors, with a specific method – “*incremental approach*” (Majone 2009, 112). This theory signifies a “synthesis of the theoretical functionalism of David Mitrany and the pragmatist approach of governing of Jean Monnet” (Mansour, 2011). Functionalism is a theory of international relations, emerging as a result of promoting the obsolescence of the *State - concept*, as a dominant form of social and political organization (Hammarlund 2005, Ch. II). It is always connected with a *global integration*, excluding the possibility of regional integration. The functionalists focus on the common *interests* and common *needs*, shared through the states, in the process of global integration, inspired by the erosion of the national sovereignty, and the wide knowledge of the scientists and experts in the process of policy-making (Rosamond, 2000). The goal of functionalism as a theory could be identified with a potential establishing of network that connects the states, in a form of supranational institutions. As a result of the networking, interdependence would be established among the states, which would appear as a guaranty of achieving and maintaining peace between them.

The substructure of functionalism – the neofunctionalism, goes one step further within the scope of intergovernmental cooperation, with a final destination, *full intergovernmental fusion*, in form of supranational structure. Besides the functionalism, the theory of neofunctionalism corresponds with *regional integration*. The supranational structure or supranational organization would become a *political union*, (Michael 2012, 30) which represents *finalite politique* (Kovacevic 2013, 185). The key element in the theory of neofunctionalism is the *spill-over* effect (Majone 2009, 104,105). The effect of *spill-over* takes the central position in this theory and according to Leon Lindberg: “it refers to a situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and need for more action, and so forth” (Laursen 2005, 5). The *spill-over* effect is the effect from the ongoing process of integration (in political sense) and specific integration in certain sectors that *spontaneously* leads to integration in another sector. In that direction, the initiation of integration in one sector would produce integration in another sector. The establishing of common institutions that govern certain social issue would be followed by extending their authority of decision-making in other specific sector. This logic of *spontaneously* extending authority of decision making of the supranational institutions is called *spill-over* effect. According to Jean Monnet, “achieving integration in one sector leads to a *spill-over* into other policy areas. This would lead to integration in these policy areas and in turn, more *spill-over*” (Dunn, 2012). The integration in one sector is stimulated, and it stimulates integration in another sector.

In this paper, using the concept of *spill-over* effect, it would be examined the possibility of initiation a political integration, as an overcoming process, of some other potential type of integration, part of the *integration in a political sense*. It would be examined the possibility of stimulating the process of political integration, by an over going process of economic integration, and their relations of dependence.

## THE PERSPECTIVES OF NEOFUNCTIONALIST THEORY

The theory of neofunctionalism is making a compromise between the *full integration*, which lies in the political unifying of the states, and the will of the states for preserving their *sovereignty* and *independence*. Also, that compromise is done between the *concept of the nation state*, and the *concept of integration*, as a process of forming supranational level of governance. On the other side, besides the forming of supranational level of governing, division exists between the sectors that are under supranational rule, the sectors in which some coordination of the national policies exists, and sectors in which the states completely conserve their decision-making capacities. Opposite to the theory of (euro) federalism, which anticipates the political integration exclusively as a *status*, established *quickly* with the highest legal act – Constitution; the theory of neofunctionalism with its *incremental* approach, perceives the political integration as a *process*.

### *Defining the political integration*

Ernst Haas, eminent researcher of the European integration and neofunctionalism, defines the political integration, as follows:

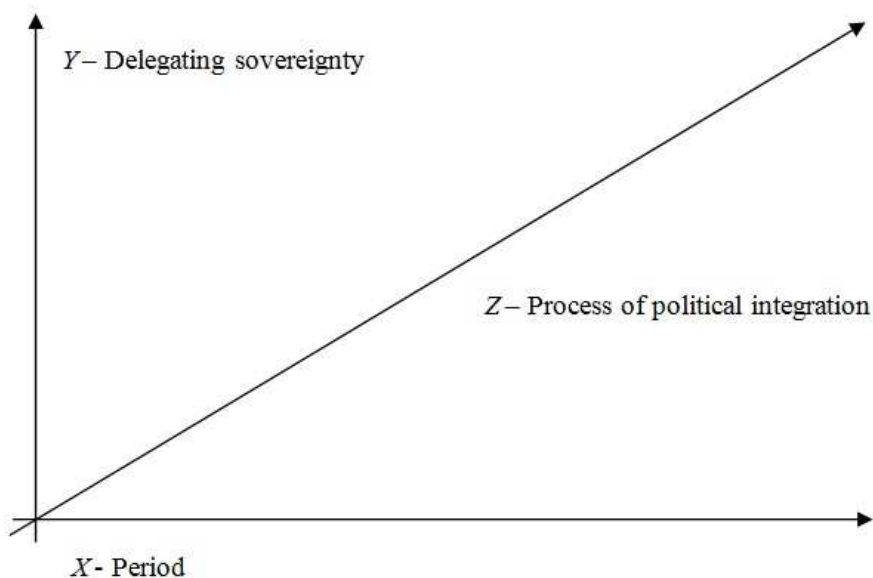
The process whereby nations forgot the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to new central organs. (Lindberg 1963, 3).

From this definition, it could be observed several essential elements of the concept of political integration:

- The political integration is a process,
- Making joint decisions,
- Delegation of the activity of decision-making,
- Certain policies of decision-making,
- New central organs.

In Haas's definition, the political integration in its bit as a political concept is a *process*, which obviously presupposes certain *period*. In that context, the political integration is perceived as a *process*, that differs from potential existence of political integration as a *status*. This process represents the activity of *delegating* the power of decision-making to new central organs, which includes delegation of the sovereignty, from a national level, to a newly established – supranational one. According to the interpretation of Haas's definition, it could be concluded that the independent variables of the process of political integration are:

- The *period*
- The *delegation* of the sovereignty.



**Figure 2: Variables in the *process of political integration***

The process of political integration depends on activity of delegating sovereignty, in certain period. From that angle, the *period* and the activity of *delegating* sovereignty, determines the *process of political integration*.

**Table 1: Variables in the *process of political integration***

Independent variable 1	Independent variable 2	Dependent variable
<i>Period</i>	<i>Delegation of the sovereignty</i>	<i>Process of political integration</i>

Perceiving from the aspect of the decision-making sector, Haas focuses on the *foreign policy*, and other key domestic policies. That could be understood as *delegating* the sovereignty in the scope of *foreign and security policy* from the State to the supranational organization. Following the process of political integration, particularly, its finish point, the supranational organization holds the power of decision-making in the sector of foreign and security policy.

From the above mentioned about the integration in a political sense, there is only one element to add, when we are referring to the concept of political integration, besides the integration (in political sense). It is the sector in which the integration occurs, particularly it is the sector of *foreign policy*. Despite the elements of the integration (understood in a political sense), as a broader category, and the political integration as a narrow one, the last involves one more, which is determining and specifying it as a *political*.

### *The political integration as a process*

Understood as a process, the (political) integration could be divided into several segments. It starts with *cooperation* between the states, qualified as a *non-formal cooperation*, which participate in the process of integration in certain sectors, while using the *unanimity* as a form of decision-making and as an instrument for conserving their sovereignty. As a starting point, in the process of integration, according to Roberto Castaldi, “The cooperation takes place when no national sovereignty is pooled or transferred, when the institutional framework is purely intergovernmental and generally based on unanimity” (Castaldi 2007, 37). The next segment, that could be understood as a stage, in the process of (political) integration, covers the institutionalization of the cooperation manifested as a process of creating certain institution, where the states holds the *last word*, in the process of decision-making through the *unanimity*, that is essential for passing a decision. It could be stated that the states, have been engaged in international cooperation, and have been part of various international cooperative organization, but the concept of the (political) integration goes a step further (Heinonen 2006, 2). The international formal cooperation has been initiated and regulated by an intergovernmental treaty. When an institution with autonomy is established, supranational by its nature, transformation in the structure of the states participant in the process, is taking place. This transformation could be identified as moving from one stage to another, from *cooperation*, to *integration*. The final point of the (political) integration process, results in establishing finished political community – “*finalite politique*” (Kovacevic 2013, 185), where the supranational institutions have absorbed the essential scope of the national sovereignty. And according to Haas’s definition, the essential scope of the national sovereignty is represented by conducting of *foreign* and other domestic key policies. The (political) integration represents the moment of delegating the sovereignty, from national to supranational level, which presupposes:

- Establishing *supranational institutions*,
- Overcoming the *unanimity* as method of decision-making (Castaldi 2007, 37).

According to the author Hannu Heinonen, the process of political integration could be divided in three major stages, with a specific accent on the prevailing relations between the state and the supranational entity:

- Coordination – the lowest level of cooperation;
- Harmonization – the higher level of cooperation, which usually involves harmonization of the national legislation or adoption of a common legislation. On this level, all legislation is still national, and all policies and instruments are nationally controlled and implemented, although they might be regionally agreed;
- Integration – is the highest level of cooperation. Some of the traditional decision-making powers of nation states have been handed over regional level, and regional rules and decisions supersede national legislation (Heinonen 2006, 7).

The integration could be identified as the highest level in the process of cooperation, or the process of cooperation could symbolize the first stage in the process of integration. In a similar way to Heinonen, Professor Goran Ilik, established three gradations in the process, with a specific accent laid on the decision-making process. According to him, the process, run through these gradations:

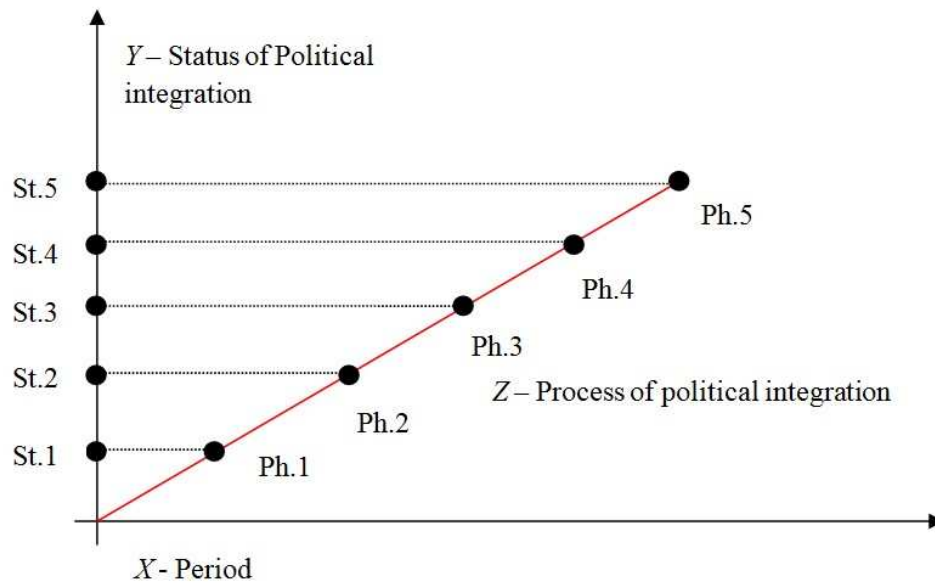
- Gr.1: Soft intergovernmental cooperation of the national resources, decision-making based on unanimity;
- Gr.2: Strong intergovernmental cooperation of national resources, contractual based, decision-making based on unanimity;
- Gr.3: Supranational instruments, supranational decision-making based on qualified majority voting (Ilik 2009, 125).

The three gradations mentioned above, are manifested in the process of political integration, with a specific focus laid on the decision-making method, which tends to transform the decision-making process's principle, from unanimity to (qualified) majority voting. The author Soren Dosenrode claims that the process of political integration could be distinguished into several phases, generally taken:

- Ph.1: *Ad hoc* intergovernmental political cooperation;
- Ph.2: Institutionalized intergovernmental cooperation – voluntary agreement of persistent character which shapes behavior, limits the freedom of action and creates expectations about how the participants behave;
- Ph.3: Institutionalized intergovernmental coordination – synchronization of activities among the states to cooperation;
- Ph.4: Partial or supra-nationalized integration – the states have passed over a part of their sovereignty to a supranational authority which has autonomy and may follow policies of the member state governments;
- Ph.5: Full integration – the member states have handed over the major part of their decision-making power (“sovereignty”), to the supranational entity and have stopped being direct subjects of international public law (Dosenrode 2010, 8-9).

### ***The political integration as a status***

According to Dosenrode and his phases in the process of political integration, it could be concluded that each phase in the process of political integration, represents a *status of political integration*. Besides the claims that the concept of political integration could symbolize a *process*, each phase in that process, remains *status of political integration*. So the meaning of the concept of political integration could be connected with a *process of political integration* and a *status of political integration*. Following this logic, it evolves, that all five *phases* represent five *statuses* of political integration. Phase 1, or *ad hoc intergovernmental political cooperation*, represents the first status of political integration, and so on. The last phase, *full integration*, symbolizes the last status of political integration. In this sense, the political integration could be defined as a status in the process of political integration, which involves the amount of the delegated national sovereignty and the decision-making power of the supranational entity, especially in the scope of *foreign and security* policies.



**Figure 3: The relation between *the process of political integration* and *the status of political integration***

Indicators of the achieving the *status of political integration* would be the existence of supranational institutions and the leading principle of the decision-making process. Status 1 of political integration involves non-existence of supranational institutions, following unanimity as an exclusive principle in the decision-making process. Status 5 of political integration, involves prevailing supranational institutions, especially in the sector of foreign and security policies, and decision making process based on (qualified) majority.

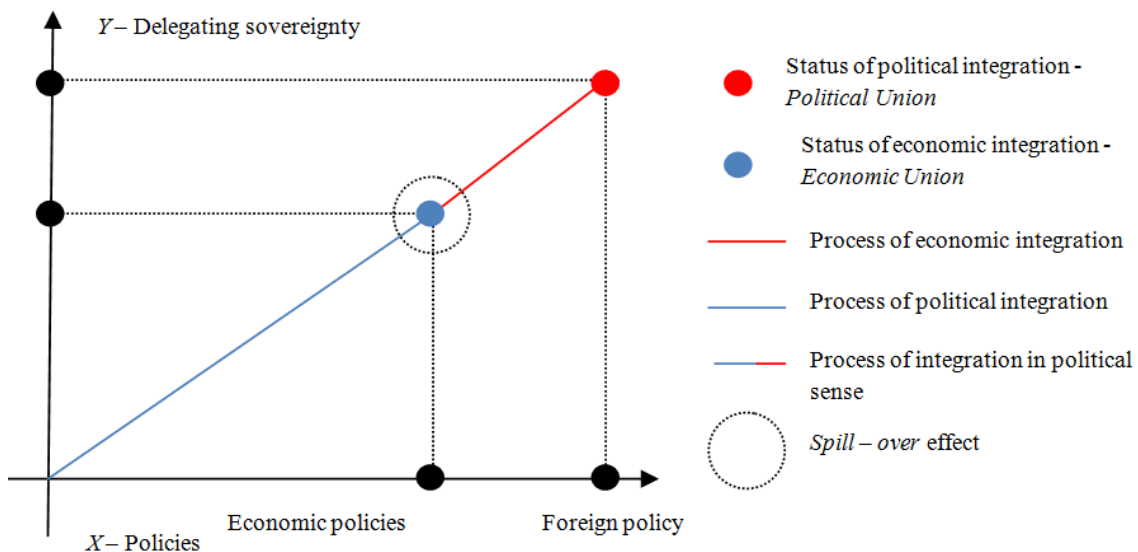
**Table 2: Indicators of *status of political integration***

<i>Status of political integration</i>	<i>St.1</i>	<i>St.2</i>	<i>St.3</i>	<i>St.4</i>	<i>St.5</i>
<i>Indicator 1</i> (Existence of Supranational institutions)	No	No	Yes (emerging)	Yes (prevailing)	Yes (dominant, especially in F&S policies)
<i>Indicator 2</i> (Decision-making principle)	Pure unanimity	Pure unanimity	Dominant unanimity	Unanimity and (qualified) majority	(Qualified) Majority

### *Activating the process of political integration*

The essence of neofunctionalist theory is the *spill-over* effect. As previously mentioned, the integration from one sector is initiating the integration of another. Also, the differentiation between the concepts of integration and political integration are examined. The concept of *integration (in political sense)* contains the concept of *economic* and *political integration* as a two concepts. Leon Lindberg qualified the economic integration, as a concept of *political nature* (Lindberg 1963, 2). This statement, could be connected with the *spill-over* effect, and according to it, the economic integration could be an *initial point*, for activating the process of political integration. The integration in economic policies, *spontaneously*, following the neofunctionalist logic, could stimulate the integration in political matters. The both types of integration are interdependent, perceiving from the angle of neofunctionalism. The political integration could be started and it could achieve its last stage, while the economic integration is already active and taking place.

The political union is incorporated as a final stage in the process of economic integration, which is also the result of the finished political integration process. According to this, the process of economic integration and the process of political integration project the same end that corresponds with the *full integration*. Following this logic and the two cases previously mentioned, it is obvious that the process of political integration could be initiated by an ongoing process of economic integration, as a result of the *spill-over* effect. The activation of the process of economic integration, spontaneously would lead to initiation the process of political integration. The both processes of integration, in their last stages, would tend to become one single process of integration (in political sense), tending to achieve *full integration*, or *political union*.



**Figure 4: Political integration in the perspective of neofunctionalist theory**



## CONCLUSION

At the end of this paper, it could be concluded that the concept of political integration, involves several interpretations, and the activation of *the process of political integration* is based on the concept of *spill-over* effect, deriving from the theory of neofunctionalism. The concept of political integration is a sub-category in the broader category of *integration in a political sense*.

The first meaning of the concept of political integration is connected with its understanding as a *process*. *The process of political integration* could be defined as a process where the states, in certain period, delegate their sovereignty to a supranational entity, especially in the sector of *foreign affairs* and other key domestic policies. The second meaning of the concept of political integration is connected with its understanding as a *status*. *The status of political integration* could be defined as a status that involves the amount of the delegated sovereignty, from national level to supranational entity, especially in the sector of foreign affairs and other key domestic policies. The activation of the *process of political integration*, due to the theory of neofunctionalism, is inspired by the ongoing economic integration. The political integration *spontaneously* emerges in a certain phase in the *process of economic integration*, as a result of the *spill-over* effect. In that dimension it could be claimed that there is a relation of *dependence* between the process of *political* and *economic integration*.

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## DOCTRINAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PARADIGM OF THE CONSERVATISM IN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

**Nikola Gjorshoski, MA**

*Law Faculty, University St. Clement of Ohrid - Bitola*  
*ngjorshoski@gmail.com*

### **Abstract**

*This paper is an illustration of certain specifications in the conservative discourse in a certain European western countries. Each one of the countries from the western hemisphere has its particular peculiarities that determine the usage of the political operation by the conservative parties. Certainly, the complexity of the conservative ideology study has been enriching with the perception of the most basic practices in the political activity of the right parties in some western countries. This paper consists of a short definition about the conservatism followed by its primary and secondary principles. Then, continues to an individual cases in a three highly developed European countries where as a sample are taken the most significant parties in the conservative and Christian Democrat ideology. The conservatism as a political ideology has been formed in the middle of the XVII century as a resistance towards the shifts and the challenges that were under influence of the enlightenment, industrialization and the urbanization. If the conservatism as a political theory, ideology and practice originates from the countries with foregoing activities, logically emerges a need to study their characteristics. The author's intention is to represent the traits creating the content of that ideology and activity, what are the distinction marks that would be the most appealing of the certain country, as well as to prove the link with the parties from the conservative family on a European level. The study of the conservatism as a political ideology in the modern ideological- doctrinal spectrum would be certainly impossible if there is no closer look to those paradigms.*

*Key words: Conservatism; Conservative ideology; Conservative values; British Toryism; French Gaullism; German Christian-democracy*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The political parties that originate towards the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII century as an institutionalism representing a different social and focus groups, turned into a motor of the entire political development and a leading role of the political operation. All of the political parties and political ideologies determined their own spectrum of values that have been gravitating around their activities, therefore can be determined their position in the political field. Lead by those values, the subjects of the policy began and continued to direct their future political activity and to defend what has been created in the past. The attachment to the liberal democracy, accepting the market economy, as well as the monetary economic policy of the major part of the political parties and ideologies in the XXI century entails the question: Can we speak of the classical political ideologies such as liberalism, social democracy, conservatism, etc? Usually, these types of tendencies have found a strong speech in the European western countries. When it comes to the party- ideological field we wouldn't dare to claim that is a new phenomenon. In the past hundred years Nisbet through range of examples lists a series of

significant progressive steps of the European conservative guard, relativizing of the left conservative classification as regressive, anti- progressive and anti-social concept. In that concept distinguishes: Bismarck's establishment of a social security, series of a reform steps by Disraeli, the Churchill's Laws against the aristocracy, De Gol resigning from Algeria (Nizbet 1999, 6).

Considering the previous aspects we will impose few key questions, elaborated in this paper work. First of all, what describes the European western conservative prism and what are the most characteristic odds representing the content of such paradigm? Second, is there a clear, coherent and visible ideological – doctrinal spectrum that links all of the subjects belonging to the European –western conservative family? Third, what differences we can notice between them and what would be the intensity of those differences between them? The frame of our research would establish by adding additional determinants displayed through the following postulate: What is exactly the conservatism on a theoretical field and what are its basic valued orientations? It seems that Heywood is right when he claims that the ideologies must be oriented on the ideas, as well as activity, so there are some of them, stronger on one field and others on the other (Hejvud 2005, 4). Through this prism we are going to take a look into the European right center and we will determine its benevolence towards one level or the other.

## CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY AND ITS VALUES

The word conservatism derives from the Latin word "*conservare*" that means "to protect, to save, to preserve, to keep." In everyday speech the word "conservative" has more meanings. It can refer to a moderate or precautionary behavior, a conventional lifestyle which is conventional or means fear of change (Hejvud 2005, 72). The real, true definition in a political sense, the conservatism as a term goes through in 1789 during the time of the French Revolution, as a determinant for its opponents that had a skeptical view towards the Enlightenment ideas. Despite that, the conservatives were against the violation and the terror conducted by the executors of the revolution. If the etymological conservative construction means "to protect, to save, to preserve," then here is the question – What is that the conservatism wants to protect, to preserve in a modern frame? In such direction, the Blackwell's encyclopedia of a political thought claims that the conservatism as defend of the limited in the political operation has a goal to preserve the ruling of the right, private ownership, independent jury and the representative government (Miller et al. 2002, 191). Kenneth Minogue also gives us a definition that absorbs few key points: political attitude, practical political option that is attached to tradition, customs and institutions that surround the human as someone who belongs to the political community (Minogue 1967, 195). If we pay attention to the definitions, we will notice that there is a basic spectrum of an axel gravity giving meaning to this ideology.

The concept of the political ideology, therefore the conservatism as well, can't be content with the limited theoretical definitions. The academic research imposes classification of few basic values that would put axiological and practice on the same frame. For example, Heywood defines three levels of ideological studies, actually their three most important aspects: a) World view; b) Model of a desired future, a vision for a better society; c) A way changes to be made (Hejvud 2004, 85). One of the most significant theoreticians of the conservatism Russell Kirk introduces ten principles that gratifies our criteria: a) public moral ; b) customs, rules and continuity; c) cautious; d) reform; e) imperfection; d) freedom; e) property; f) volunteer community; g) limited authority; h) balance between the changes and consistency (Kirk 2010). Following these

determinants we would bring out few significant elements of value on which is based the conservative ideology: 1) Sustaining, preserving and protection of the system; 2) Country safety; 3) Rights, freedom and citizen's responsibility; 4) Democracy preserving; 5) Public moral preserving. (Gjorshoski 2014, 41-51). In this way the conservative discourse sets its leading base integrating it into valuable postulate as well as the methodological approach in a realization in its goals.

## **THE BRITISH TORYISM**

The conservatism proliferation as a nomenclature for one political ideology and a number of political parties, owns its origin to Great Britain. If the conservatism has its own history or prehistory, that is located in Great Britain. Edmund Burke's work represents foundation stone of the conservative ideology combined with the party's program typical for the pre- election period. The Tory party itself, towards the middle of the XIX century gains the name conservative as an emblem for an ideology that is being taken care of. The principles for operating and the ideological policy that are being set by the Conservative party of Great Britain have more or less become a supreme of the modern parties in today's world. The conservative party is one of the leading parties on the Britain's political scene despite that has won 20 times since 1835 when it's being introduced the parliamentary system through direct elections. In the following text we are going to talk about the fundamental traits of the conservative political party's operation. Although its party- ideological pragmatism is visible for every new generation politics, the fundamental traits of the political operation have remained the same during the time of its existence.

### ***Tory democracy***

The term Tory in Great Britain turns up in the XVIII century to point out parliamentary faction that means loyalty towards the crown and have been supporting the English Monarchy and the England church. The Tory's specific traits as term are traditionally linked to respecting the crown, English tradition, hierarchy, the organ concept of society and the obligation towards the homeland. The term Tory democracy some identify it with the united nation concept, that was characteristic for the paternalistically conservatism. In fact, this is about string of economic-social safeguards that were taken by the Benjamin Disraeli's government in promoting the fight poverty and social oppression. Such precautions taken by the Disraeli's conservative government have become dominant role in the process of the political practice of the English conservatives for the entire twenty's century. We are going to mention that some of those laws: law for the craftsmen, law for public health, law for workers and employers, law for sea trade, law for manufactory etc. (Wasson 2010, 133).

What is dominant during the Disraeli era is that the conservatives by promoting the concept of united nation began to cultivate loyal feelings and patriotism, extinguishing the social ideas, that the worker doesn't have its own country. Although, during the time of Margaret Thatcher this concept was abandoned, (pointing out the neoliberalism) the implications of the Tory democracy are being visible in the modern actions by the Conservative Party. For ex, the vice-chairman of the opposition back then, the conservative Peter Lily will declare that the belief in the free market has been rarely accepted for the conservative philosophy and that the country has to play the dominant role in financing the state welfare (Vasović 2006, 118). In the part named

as work and social justice the Conservative party during its mandate promises that will provide minimal wage for every worker, will be created special workshops where the unemployed will be able to exchange experiences and skills in order to be more competent on the labor market. Then, the federate work access will be cut down and there will be a special system for utile work that will provide employers to be competent when they apply for a job, will be promoted the program “work for yourself” (Policy of Conservative party 2011) with easier access to loans in order to become an entrepreneur etc.

### ***The British unionism and cohesion with the Commonwealth***

The conservative party of the United Kingdom is a strong supporter of the British Unionism and furiously is contrasting the proclamations that some countries will leave the Kingdom, such as Scotland or Northern Ireland. This has been proven many times especially when towards the end of the 90's in the last century have been opposed the referendum for Scotland's devolution in 1997. That trend of the British unionism continued in the following years when there was a debate, instead of secession, creating a Scottish parliament and increasing the ingerence by the local authorities. The obstructions are strong even today in order not to be successful the referendum for independency in 2015. It was a similar situation with Wells too, when they opposite the referendum initiative, promising that Wells will have the same treatment as Scotland by constitution of the national parliament. On the other hand, the Commonwealth as a repeater of the former British imperialism has a huge role in the politics, not only in the conservative but also in the entire political British orientation. What is especially characteristic for the conservative policy are their links with this union more than with the European Union or any other association (EFTA for example). Despite the attachment towards the British crown, the relations in the Commonwealth resemble with a high level of collaboration in more areas- (economy, development of the public sector, culture and sport).

### ***Euroskepticism***

The analysis in details shows that the Tory euroskepticism has always been visibly outstanding although the Conservative Government at Hit in 1973 has begun the associative bargaining process with the European Economic Community. Their euro skepticism is expressed through a visible level especially today when it comes to a further process of the Union integration. Speaking of euro skepticism there is one thing we have to consider; - this is manifested on two levels. The first level are the protagonists on one entire European integration and leaving EU , while on the other hand are the plotters for Union survivor but not future integrity, especially not in the part of the economy and finance. There is one mutual aspect and that is a critic to the unproductive Brussels' bureaucracy (Foster 2002, 33). From John Major to David Cameron there is almost not a single conservative who doesn't loudly fight to the policy of the Union. The latter, as a prime minister, next year is supposed to organize a referendum for Great Britain's concession in the EU. This is one of the key points of the pre- election campaign vis-à-vis Labour assignment of the Lisbon's reform Treaty in 2007.

## THE FRENCH GAULLISM

For a French modern conservatism we can only speak during and after the World War II. Elaboration of this thesis will help with alleging the example with the supporters back to the ancient regime (De Mestr, Mara etc), whose positions are distinguished with reactionary, even fascism. Because of these conditions, it seems that today in France the only representative of the conservatism is the UMP (Union for a popular movement). Technically it was formed in November 2002 with the support of Jacques Chirac, as a transformation of the former *Rassemblement pour la République* (RPR) is today's biggest conservative party in France. Therefore, the basic characteristics of the French conservatism we will acquire from their party concepts and the practice in the French political system.

### *Bonapartist Gaullism*

During the World War II the French conservatives were Gaullist's troop supporters in the time of rebellion recalling national unity and reform of the regime, regulation, the French tradition and the country's regeneration. It is a paradox for the classical conservatism but the Gaullism as part of the modern French conservatism it's not based on the French conservatives from the Ancien Régime, but on the tradition of spreading the ideas of the Revolution from 1789 and Napoleon's expeditions. This portrays not only the axiological moment but also the pragmatic form. Charles De Gaulle, the founder of the modern conservative movement never believed in the parties neither in the parliamentarianism as a model (Vasović 2006, 532). It seems that the plebiscite Bonapartism was the right decision for its ruling as well as the Fifth Republic's political system's design. Other than that, the concept of the Gaullism as a doctrine is the superstition and French's foreign policy. The denial of foreign troop in France, the continent's back off from the NATO pact, the politics challenge on an empty chair in the European council and France transformation into a nuclear power are just parts of such implications. The ideas cultivated by today's conservatives that France should treat its existence as a world power relying only on its own interests have their own base on these type of policy. The exchange rate policy in France's foreign policy as a dominant decision was quite expressive during the time of USA's intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan when Jacques Chirac was criticizing that step like vacuous. The procrastination of the NATO's missions in these countries was expressed through its own national interests. This continuity can be seen through Nicola Sarkozy's campaign that supported the project for the second aircraft carrier in the French's navy.

### *European integrationism*

Demo-Christians like Schuman and Monnet had a clear vision about the European integrity. France's interests like one of the biggest countries in Europe lead in that direction. These two leaders are considered to be the "fathers" of the European coalition. This generation of European and French politics succeeded to generate the European peace, to thwart the communists movement and for a very short period of time managed to rebuilt the European economy to be world leading. The European perception of integrity for the conservative discourse of the France's policy was also present during the Nicola Sarkozy's mandate especially

in the cooperative fund for the euro salvation, as well as the European packages on a way out of the crisis. The strategy for the elections and the UMP's political activity also called as "Project 2012" pays special attention to the European integrity. In the chapter named "like Europe" says:

When Europe wants, it can. Our leader, Nicola Sarkozy turned out to be a key point in the salvation process of the European economy during the crisis in 2008. We have to encourage the collaboration on our continent and to discourage the opponent's vision against European future. This is the reason we have to go even further with our volunteers. Everything will be impossible without the France- German coalition. Our goal will be Europe that protects and unites, but before all, Europe that serves the citizens (UMP Project, 2012).

This portrays the Gaullist's foreign policy perception, representing not only France as a powerful and influential country in the international community, but also this resembles as a result in the French's assertiveness in the future development and European Union's capacity.

### ***Enhanced control over the immigration***

The power of immigration, especially in Northern Africa raised the French conservative publicity. In this situation, the French's reaction was visible through a stronger control over the immigration process, in which they requested to obtain unitary access to this problem. In 2006 was brought a law by which the government had easier approach to fight the illegal immigration, family immigration and also highly- qualified immigration encouragement. A very notorious thing was administrative barrier raise in order to halt the immigration movement in France. As part of these precautions was also securing guaranteed stay and if a person wanted to prolong its domicile, a work permission or address of living was requested. It was also established authorities discretionary right to decide which party will be and won't be able to settle in its own territory also called "selective immigration" (See more: Migration information source, 2010). Sarkozy in this way will notice that it is expression on French sovereignty as well discretion to decide about this context. As a result of this type of policy within a year were deported almost 13 000 people for illegal stay or incomplete documentation. The scandal that broke out in September 2012 in the Romany's camps was leading towards that direction.

### **THE GERMAN DEMO CHRISTIANITY**

Similarly like in France, for the German conservatism in modern terms we can speak, also, after the World War II. If in France the conservative ideas were limited with reactionary and even domineering, here we have quite different political style. The entire German conservative thought is directed towards invigorating the national ideas and creating United German country. In disunited Germany many in the conservatism have seen a solution for the bitterest problem – unity of its own homeland, especially through the deed of Otto Von Bismarck. If it's considered the Nazi totalitarianism where the German conservative and Demo Christian thought was sanctioned, we are left to be seen the ideal profile through the politics of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU).



### *The concept of German reunification*

When in 1948 the Southern occupational zones were united and it was proclaimed FR Germany, the Soviets one month later answered by creating DR Germany. However, the Adenauer's conservative government refused to recognize the new compound subject, proclaiming the only legitimate deputy of Germany. It seems that in this direction the most notorious doctrine is the Holstein's. (Named by the ministry of foreign affairs, William Holstein) who becomes the only person to operate in the foreign affairs.

The concept of this doctrine is to deny the diplomatic relations with the countries that recognized Eastern Germany. Because the social democratic government and Willy Brandt left this option they began to be harshly criticized by their conservative opponents. The German unity was just a guarantee that all German conservative put an accent on. One election poster will be always remembered and that's the one from 1949 saying: "With Adenauer to peace, freedom and Germany United". During the years of war the campaign dominantly was portrayed with national questions where significant part was the re- unification of Germany (Williams 2000, 444). Despite the unwelcome international condition for achieving such goal, in the later period the party leader Kurt Georg Kiesinger and the minister Rainer Barzel had open questions for Unified Germany. Adenauer didn't manage to see his country united, but in the middle of the 80's succeeded Helmut Kohl. Those were the years where could have been noticed the USSR collapse and the East block whose part took DR Germany as well. Helmut Kohl's plan in ten points served as a frame for such process. There are few aspect as key points: first, building democratic society and market economy in DR Germany, second, setting federation between the two Germany based on the right of the German citizens to make their own state and third the German unification is a frame for the European unity and a platform for new relations between the European partners (Kohl's ten point plan, 1989).

### *Pan- Europeanism*

Despite the unification of the divided homeland, the German conservatism, the parties of the right centered block were promoting unification - the European. In that direction, again the most significant was Adenauer and his relations with Schuman, Monnet, De Gasperi and other European politicians. German - French collaboration is entailed as vital, especially in the steel and carbon industry, transport, investments, industrial production etc. The profound of the processes of collaboration was visible in the area of coal and steel but as time was passing by that collaboration expanded in other areas too until creating mutual European policy in certain areas. The German conservatism today is a supporter of the idea for federal Europe, on tight and mutually related countries. In the CDU's chapter named like "The German chance is Europe" says:

The European political unity is the biggest success on our continent. That is a model and direction point for many parts of the world. Since the World War II until today, the European federation brought peace, safety and prosperity. Today, the European Union guarantees inside and outside safety, more than ever. We are convinced that the EU is the best answer of today's modern challenges, such as globalization, migration, terrorism, climate and energetic problems. No other country by itself could not be able to answer these questions. The German population and its partners in Europe share the same

destiny. Our interest is Germany to be the leading role in the process of the European integration (CDU 2007, 58).

Without doubt, today Germany is under custody of Demo Christians and has the leading role in the integrative processes of the Union. Their integrative devotion is visible on an economic –financial plan, as well as on politically safety.

### *Social – market economy*

The social market economy is the basic economic model set by FR Germany after the World War II based on the ideas of the ordoliberalism and the Freyberg school. This concept contains balanced approach between the freely neoliberalism and the social concept of the economic activity, so called mixed economy. The most representative characteristic in this concept is the authority intervention, government's regulations in a certain economic areas in order to be provided loyal competence in the private sector, to be established balance between the high rate, low level of inflation, the level of unemployment, good work facilities, social security and public services. The basic principles of the market economy like the private ownership, free trade, freely formation prices on the market, but *differentia specifica* is the government's regulation in a certain areas such as social and pension security, social help and trainings for unemployed. Typical German policies are transparent even today especially in the time of the newest situation with the European economy and the Eurozone. The propaganda's policies coming out from the chancellor Merkel are the basic to abandon this situation. For example, in the CDU's manifest in the chapter under the name "Social- market economy in the global world" is pointed out:

The social- market economy as a CDU's concept is equally considering the industrials interests, the employees, urban and rural population. Together with our Christian principles through this access we want to provide a better perspective for the people who live in the less developed countries even if this brings us to a major German competence for the German production. We want to provide equal facilities for everyone, either on a national or international level (CDU 2007, 56).

The concept of the social – market economy is implicitly related with the philosophy of the law country in citizens and social sphere. This perception means that we are speaking of active and creative country, not inferior and limited one, ideas accepted and promoted from the German Demo Christianity.

## **CONCLUSION**

The modern conservatism it's a contemporary political ideology that has its own values such as preserving, saving of rights, freedoms and responsibilities of the peoples, regime's safety, as well as democracy saving. The secondary values are foreseen through the prism of the nationalism, family and marriage, private ownership that only tight up the string of today's modern right – centered world view. This speaks of clear, visible and transparent spectrum of values representing the meaning and content of the Western-European conservative family.

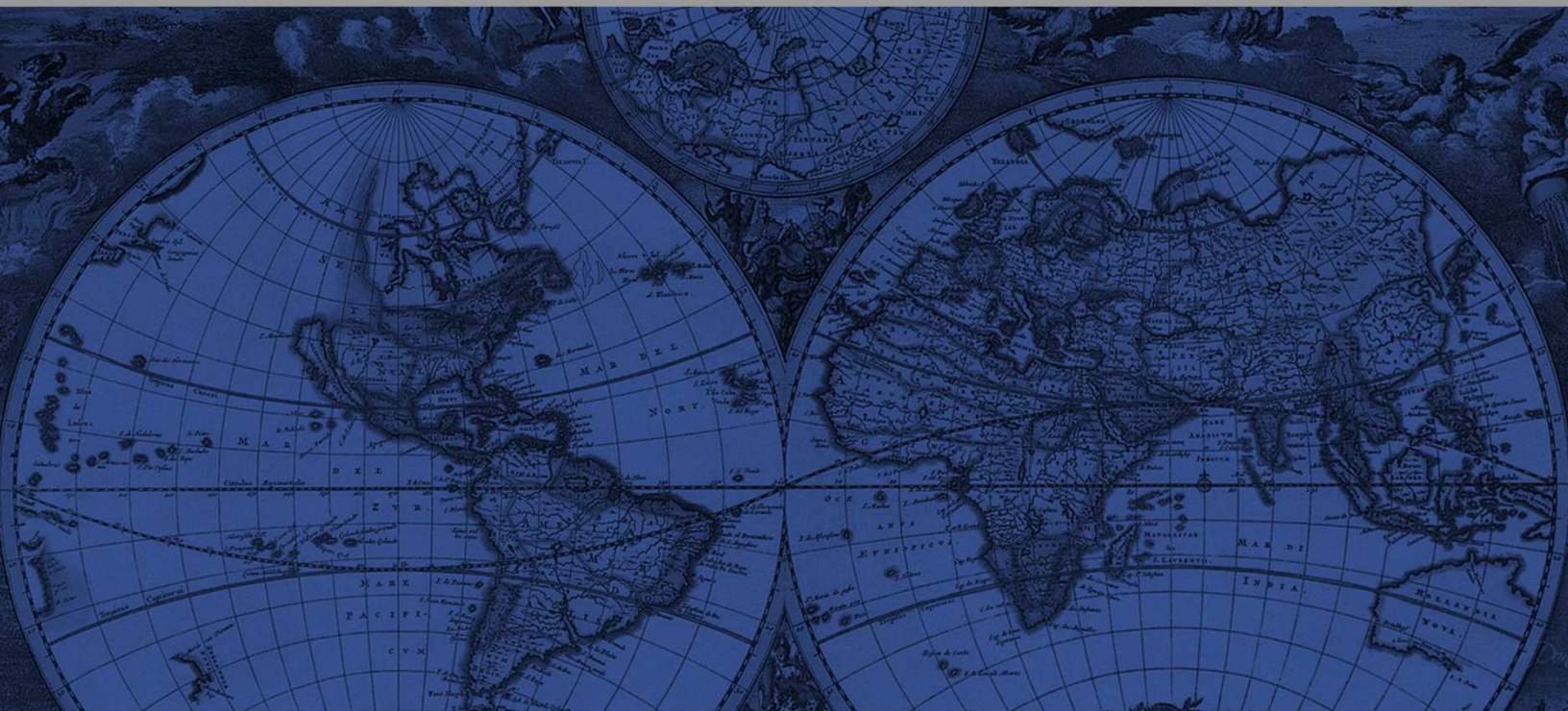
We've seen that the conservative parties in each country are displayed with their own unique specifications. Although at the beginning we could have claimed certain ideological

principles of the modern conservatism, still remains the definition that certain conservative ideological traits are the specifications just for some countries considering their needs and preferences around the poll. We also noticed the brilliant examples of the European Integrity and the skepticism, then the Gaullism and the Republicans vis-à-vis loyalty towards the British crown. The German reunification is a *determinanta speciffica* only for the German Demo Christianity. No matter how visible is the institutional mechanism in certain areas collaborating with the parties, displayed through the European national parties, as well as the European conservative and reform group they relief the convergence. This reconfirms our thesis that every country has its own ideological practices to operate. Therefore, this is one of the traits of the modern conservatism. The element- national interest and the nationalism are demiurge of these conditions. The Western - European conservatism as an ideology is pretty flexible and it is not leaded blindly after abstract principles, it adapts to the real citizens' needs, defending the central values. In fact, this is resemblance of all the modern political parties from conservative provenience.

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